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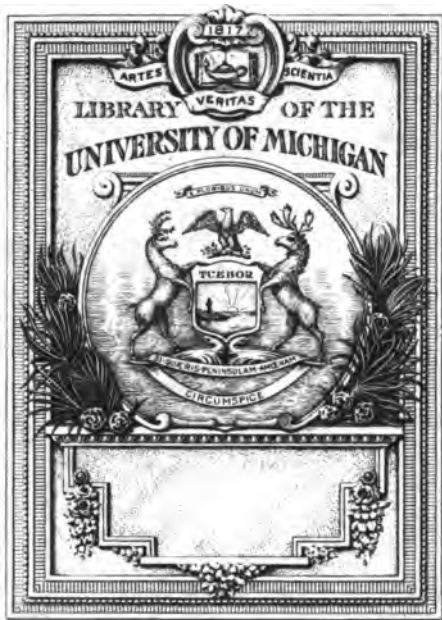
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Oliver D. A VIEW *of*

OF

IRISH AFFAIRS

SINCE THE

REVOLUTION OF 1688,

TO THE CLOSE OF THE

PARLIAMENTARY SESSION of 1795;

WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

AND A

PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY JAMES MULLALLA, L.L.B.—F.R.S.

VOL. I.

STATUI RES GESTAS, POPULI ROMANI, CARPTIM UTI QUAEQUE
MEMORIA DIGNA VIDEANTUR PERSCRIBERE: EO MAGIS, QUOD
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TO THE RIGHT HON.

JOHN FOSTER,

SPEAKER OF THE HON. HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR,

011-19-43 (W)

I N dedicating to you the 'View of Irish Affairs,' I am confident of meeting with the Sanction of Public Approbation, convinced, as I am, that your ardent Zeal, and unremitting Attention have ever been exerted to promote every Measure, having National Utility for its Object. In this Opinion, I am fully confirmed by the numerous and respectable Testimonies of Gratitude so frequently presented to you, by the truly useful Part of the Community. The prosperous and flourishing State to which your patriotic Exertions have advanced our Agriculture, Manufactures, and Trade, places in a splendid point of View, the importance of your Services, which will only cease to be held in grateful Remembrance, when genuine Patriotism loses her Estimation, and Ireland her Name.

I WOULD

I WOULD feel peculiar pleasure in paying that Tribute of Applause to your dignified Worth and luminous Talents, so justly due to them, did not Motives of Delicacy restrain me ; wherefore, not to trespass on your Time, or Feelings, I take the Liberty to subscribe myself, with that Respect, and Esteem, which every Friend to his Country must bear you,

RANELAGH,
26th August, 1795.

Sir,
Your most devoted
Humble Servant,
J. MULLALLA.

P R E F A C E.

TH E subsequent pages would never have been published, had the period chosen, been ever set forth in a continued discourse. To fill up a chasm therefore in the history of this country, with the utmost regard for impartiality and candour, has been my object : and, were my abilities equal to the importance of the subject, the work would constitute a truly interesting and splendid portion of historic information.

ALTHOUGH many portions of the Irish history have been written by men of great talents and abilities, yet they have been in general too partial in their representations. History in such hands is neither better nor worse than what the author is willing to make it, according to his partiality or aversion ; and he must have little knowledge of man, who knows not, that this species of human weakness is but too often an ingredient in some of the

the best, as it always is in the worst characters ; which, like a cancerous excrescence on a beautiful face, often grows out of the fairest principle ; in such cases, the more indifferent a man is, either in spiritual or party zeal, the nearer he approaches to the character of a true patriot and a good citizen. If religious indifference were at all laudable, it would be in the instance before us ; but there is a strength of mind superior to this indifference itself, which gives all the good qualifications necessary to complete the good man, as well as judicious historian. This strength, several great writers, Protestants and Catholics, wanted. As describers of former times, they may possibly give us a fair copy, but as cotemporaries they are intolerable. Of all men, they are the most liable to deception, and the most laborious to deceive. The mischief they circulate, is in proportion to their abilities, and that rank in life, which renders those abilities conspicuous. No honest man, of the present day, is concerned in the conduct of either Protestants or Catholics of any former age of a very different complexion, otherwise than by contrasting the causes and effects in the one, with those in the other, and thereby removing
any

any ill impressions the public mind may still retain, with respect to times so different from our own. This is placing a proper mirror before our eyes, and improving our minds and manners by the truth of the representation.

To remove civil and religious prejudices, a proper distinction between times and things must be scrupulously observed, otherwise the concord and mutual co-operation of the people cannot be easily effected. The wisdom of knowing and pursuing our proper interest, lies within a very narrow compass. It requires but little information to be convinced, that the Catholics of the present day, are not to be paralleled with those that lived at the commencement of the Reformation, who had then the greatest stake in this world to struggle for, the religion then established in this country, together with the power and possessions of their fathers, neither of which doth, nor can exist at present. Their insurrections, in the reigns before the Revolution, were for the most part the contentions of distress with arbitrary power. Insurrections

tions in the present day, would be the efforts of impious treachery, against a beneficent sovereign and a lawful, mild, and protecting government; the defiance of the most awful institutes of God and man.

THE man who sets these matters in a clear light, renders an effectual service to his country, and cannot fail to conciliate the affections of the candid, the wise, the lovers of liberty, and the lovers of truth. Conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, I appear before the public with confidence, but an anxious humility as to the execution of the undertaking.

It is a duty I owe to the public, to mention the sources from whence I have deduced such intelligence, as justifies me, either in placing transactions in a new light, or in forming any new opinion with respect to their causes and effects. The longer I reflect on the nature of historical composition, the more I am convinced that this scrupulous accuracy is necessary. The man who records the events of his own time is credited in proportion to the opinion which the public entertain with respect to

to his means of information and veracity; but he who delineates the transactions of a remote period, has no title to claim assent, without adducing evidence in support of his assertions. In those sentiments, I have been confirmed by authors, whom their industry, erudition and discernment, have justly placed in an exalted rank among the most eminent historians of the age. This duty, then, I perform with much satisfaction, as it will afford me an opportunity of expressing my gratitude to those benefactors, who have honoured me with their countenance and aid in my researches.

I HAVE carefully consulted Hume, Kennett, Ralph, Burnett, Walker, Harris, Geoghegan, Dalrymple, Smollett, Leland, Campbell, Crawford, and Simon; and the archives of Trinity College, Oxford, and Cambridge. From these sources I derived much useful information. I have only differed from Hume, in those places, where I found that great writer under the influence of national prejudice, or gross misconception. I have departed from Dalrymple in some instances, particularly with respect to admiral Ruffel's engagement with the French fleet, in the reign
of

of William III. In his narrative of that transaction I find him much biaſſed ; this opinion I am confirmed in by Doctor Somerville, as well as by my reſearches in the archives of Cambridge. Throughout the entire work, I have ſedulouſly endeavoured to guard againſt party, and the falſe gloſs of intereſted writers ; leſt it ſhould either miſlead, or deceive ; a precaution abſolutely neceſſary, as I conſider every man who delivers his ſentiments to the public, reſponſible for their conſequences.

I FEEL a peculiar pleaſure in acknowledging my ſincere thanks to my truly learned friend Dr. O'Halloran, and to Capt. Ousley, of Limerick, for their friendly communications and polite attention. To Mr. Ledſam, of Brookville, I owe many obligations, as alſo to Mr. William Daly, for his uſeful hints and judicious obſervations in the progreſs of the work.

I HAVE not ſtrictly adhered to arrangement in the narrative. In my digreſſions I imitate the pilot, who does not always ſteer to the place for which he holds, in a ſtraight line,

line, but often yields to the swell, often to the wind ; and with shifting sail, makes for that, which the instant storm allows him, not that for which he first destined his course ; that even from thence, he may at length attain the wished-for port.

I HAVE endeavoured to shew that tithes are not that burthen on the peasantry of which they so loudly complain, and that recent and former disturbances in this kingdom owe not their origin to tithes, and, if at all concerned, that the resolution of agistment was the cause.

I BEG leave to make my sincere acknowledgments to my numerous and respectable subscribers ; and to every particular friend and correspondent I send my most cordial thanks for their candid and unremitted attention to my various enquiries ; for which I never will prove unmindful, and I hope the candour and impartiality I have diligently laboured to preserve, will compensate for the defects and imperfections unavoidable in the course of a work, for the completion

tion of which maturer years and superior talents would have been indispensably requisite.

HAVING now fulfilled my engagement with the public, my labour closes, perhaps for ever. The indulgent reader will make a candid allowance for juvenile errors, which at a more mature age shall be rectified, should I ever re-assume the pen. Foul revenge may, from some odious corner, attempt to blast my fortune or injure my reputation; cruelty and cowardice may level their shafts at my character and works, but innocence of heart and integrity of soul, will, as they have hitherto done, still protect and defend me.

*Nam integer vitæ scelerisque purus,
Non eget Mauri jaculis neque arcu.*

26th August, 1795.

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*Introductory Observations.—The Revolution of 1688.
—The Causes and Consequences of it.—*

ONa review of our history from the reign of Henry the II. to the Revolution of 1688, we find the calamities of the nation invariably flowing from public misrule, barbarous manners, private interest, and the rage of parties. This rage was little affected by those changes in religion, which had set Europe in a flame, for two successive centuries. Popular phrenzy, vague principles, and the lust of dominion, were at an early period implicated with our ecclesiastical contests; and the doctrine of Christianity, which fatally had so small an influence previous to the commence-

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ment of those contests, was attended with much less after. I propose not to dwell on such melancholy scenes, we have too long been the dupes of shameful prejudices ; my object is to eradicate such distinctions as have ever engendered mischief, and to restore that union and harmony which hath at all times been the wish of party to violate. Far be it from me to extenuate the known guilt of any party, or applaud the misconduct of public oppressors.—Ireland, long wasted by its own aristocratical confusion, and little improved by the too weak monarchy erected on its ruins, acceded to a foreign government, planned on the guilt, and introduced by the fraud of one of the national chiefs.—The people having changed from bad to worse, instead of protection, found a wanton exercise of lawless and arbitrary power ; instead of peace, a merciless war made on human nature, for 350 years without intermission ; instead of merciful governors, purchased at the expence of enormous possessions, a set of turbulent free-booters, who denied the unfortunate natives the benefit of the English laws, and of all laws human and divine. It is no wonder that a nation thus treated ; and thus delivered over
to

to utter extermination, should seek redress by the force of arms. As far as the cruel state of anarchy established amongst them permitted, they fought and found some redress in resistance. They made efforts to regain liberty by the means of force, when they found it in vain to seek that blessing by any other ! Indeed, all the little happiness they enjoyed for near 400 years, they owed to the sad expedient of War alone ! And yet this state of things was not occasioned by the inhumanity of one set of ecclesiastics against another ; but to the inhumanity of catholics against catholics. This shews how little the formal identity of religion is sufficient to secure human kind against human treachery ; it can only be said of religious conformity that it is a less evil in the world, than a religious discord ; since the true purposes of treachery, or the pretensions of zeal can be detected with much more certainty in the first case, than in the second. To oppressive governments a different mode of God's worship, is generally almost all crimes in one : this makes the solution of all moral as well as political evil extremely easy ; and here alone oppression finds the most commodious

justification of all its measures. This the first oppressors of Ireland wanted ; therefore, as a justification, they were obliged to ascribe to the peculiar obstinacy of the Irish nation what they could not to their religion. By such ridiculous pretext they justified all their outrages. The pretexts in difference of nation can never impose long: those in difference of religion are of greater duration and of worse consequences. But these consequences, mischievous as they are, will operate much less towards public misery, when knowledge and national wisdom unite to bring their causes under a stricter examination, than they have hitherto undergone. Religion, good or bad, is the best test we have for the probity of men. Its votaries, through the seduction of some, and ignorant zeal of others, may at some periods torture the sacred text to defend bad measures, and rotten principles. But such an evil is temporary, it is the duty of government and the perfection of patriotism to do it away. Then the transient effects of transient policy would cease ; and if union on the tenets of religion could not be obtained, an union on civil principles might ; to such an union

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no good governor will be an obstacle, nay he will be active in making the discrimination we here contend for.

ON the establishment of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, it may be observed with truth, that one party was punished without mercy, and the other, without sound policy. Her interest led her, and the success of her father and brother encouraged her to change the established religion in England. This she effected; but the truth obliges us to confess, that the new church was erected on the foundations of persecution. The change was effected by a sudden effort of legislative power; but without that moderation, which time, rather than human wisdom, exerts in establishments of this nature.—This evil of persecution increased during the following reigns; when the three kingdoms, for the first time, were subject to one sovereign.

JAMES, I. whom the trumpeters of political lies charged with favouring popery, was its greatest enemy. His administration in Ireland is an almost continued proof of this assertion,

his trimming conduct towards the Catholics in England, is no proof to the contrary; for they gained nothing by the lures he held out to them. Charles, his successor, ruinously trod in his steps. The Scottish covenanters would not bear the introduction, of what they deemed a superstitious liturgy among them. They sought redress in insurrection; and the parliament then sitting at Westminster, approved of their conduct. The Irish dreading the worst from the republican spirit that now existed in Britain, entertained the thoughts of availing themselves of the present opportunity to shake off the bondage they groaned under for many years before. But this they designed to effectuate by legal means. Truth warrants me in asserting, that the Irish wanted to redress grievances by legal and constitutional means. They were firmly attached to monarchy: they were loyal to the reigning prince, notwithstanding the unworthiness of his deputies who betrayed both him and them. The desperate measures, which many adopted soon after, were occasioned by the adjournment of the sessions of parliament in 1641, so contrary to the king's order as well as interest. A part,
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and not all, arose in Ulster and sought relief in resistance; the continuation of the session, together with passing some bills into laws pursuant to his majesty's desire, would have completely prevented the murders and massacres that ensued; and which are to be solely ascribed to the perfidious treachery of the lords'-justices.

It is a pity so sensible a writer as Mr. Hume, should be so much misled into different accounts of these matters; a wound from such a hand is painful: but it is far from being mortal, in an age wherein history may be written and adorned, but cannot possibly be created. The misrepresentations of Sir John Temple and others, Mr. Hume has drawn out on a new canvas, heightened by all the colouring of his art, as a fine painter; and the piece evidently cost him much labour. Horror and pity are wrought up here, in high perfection: but happily, the Irish did not fit for the picture, and Mr. Hume can claim no other merit in this instance, but that of giving a wrong bias to the passions, he took so much pains to excite.—
Far from being influenced by the spiritual zeal
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of any sect, Mr. Hume has said enough to condemn its excesses, in every party of those miserable and barbarous times. He laid open those cancerous sores, which still gnaw into our minds, and have produced, what they ever must produce, party malevolence, party interests, persecuting laws, perverse judgments, and aversion from due information! It would be little expected that such a writer, should deviate in any instance from truth, and lay down the arms of philosophy, to wield those of spiritual hatred! Wherefore it is reasonable to presume, that nothing but mistakes in matters of fact, could tempt him, to return such weapons, with a new edge to inflamed adversaries; but particularly to men, who in their anniversary preachings, abandoned the road of charity and truth, to perpetuate animosity, and wound the living by unjustifiable strokes on the dead. By revising the remembrance of those times, my object is to instruct, not to misrepresent; to pacify, not to slander. In my humble apprehension the confounding times and things, is making the worst possible use of history; until we can make the proper distinction between them, civil and religious, prejudices

prejudices must prevail, to the utter ruin of a country, so peculiarly circumstanced, as to be incapable of a moment's happiness without the mutual co-operation and concord of all its people.

FROM the restoration to the succession of James II. the Irish manifested a spirit of loyalty to their sovereign and obedience to the laws, which were highly commendable ; but upon the accession of that unfortunate and ill-guided prince, all the horrors of religious and civil intolerance burst out with redoubled fury. The judicious part of the Catholic community, were disgusted at the violent measures James pursued, in order to overturn Protestantism, but he being entirely governed by the rash councils of the Queen and her confessor, thought it was necessary for him, particularly as he was in the decline of life, by hasty steps to carry his designs into execution ; lest the succession of the Princess of Orange should overturn all his projects. In vain did Arundel, Powis, and Bellasis remonstrate, and suggest more moderate and guarded measures. These men had seen and experienced, the furious antipathy which the
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nation bore to popery ; and though some subsequent incidents had apparently allayed that spirit, they knew that the settled habits of the nation were still the same, and that the smallest incident was sufficient to renew the former animosity. A very moderate indulgence to their religion would have satisfied them ; and all attempts to acquire power, much more to operate a change of national faith, they considered both dangerous and destructive. Among all the engines of authority formerly exercised by the crown, none had a more pernicious or even destructive tendency to liberty, than the court of High Commission, which, together with the Star Chamber, had been abolished in the reign of Charles I. by act of parliament ; where a clause was also inserted, prohibiting the erection of that court, or any of a like nature. So positive and imperious was James in his councils, that this law was deemed no obstacle ; and an ecclesiastical commission was anew issued, by which seven commissioners were invested with full and unlimited authority over the entire church of England. The king's design to subdue the church was
now

now sufficiently known ; and had he been able to establish the authority of this new erected court, his success was infallible. A more sensible blow could not be given both to national liberty and religion ; and happily the contest could not be tried in a cause more unjust and unpopular than that against Sharpe and the Bishop of London.—Almost the entire of this short reign consists of attempts, either imprudent or illegal, and commonly both, against whatever was most loved and revered by the nation : even such schemes of the King's as might be laudable in themselves, were so disgraced with these intentions, that they serve only to aggravate the charge against him.

JAMES much more imprudent, headstrong, and arbitrary than his brother, issued a proclamation, suspending all the penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects. He was not deterred by the consideration, that this scheme of indulgence was already blasted by two fruitless attempts ; and that in such a government as that of England, it was not sufficient
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that a prerogative be approved of by a few prejudiced lawyers and antiquarians. If it was condemned by the general voice of the nation, and yet was still exerted, the victory over national liberty was equally signal as if obtained by the most flagrant injustice and usurpation.

THESE two considerations indeed would rather serve to recommend this project to James, who considered himself superior in vigour and activity to his brother, and who certainly thought his people enjoyed no liberties but by his royal concession and indulgence. In order to preserve a better reception for his edict of toleration, the king finding himself opposed by the church, paid court to the Dissenters; in the expectation of playing one party against the other, he would thereby easily obtain a victory over both; a policy too refined for his capacity to carry into execution. But his intention was so obvious, that it was impossible for him to gain the regard and sincere confidence of the Dissenters; for had they been ever so much disposed to close their eyes with regard to James's designs, the manner of conducting his scheme in
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Scotland, was fully sufficient to discover the secret. The king first, applied to the Scotch parliament, and desired a toleration for Catholics alone, without including the Presbyterians; but that assembly firmly resolved not to sacrifice their civil liberties, and pertinaciously determined to adhere to their religion, now for the first time rejected the king's application. James therefore found himself obliged to use his prerogative, and he considered it prudent to interest a party of his people, besides the Catholics, to support this act of prerogative. The harassed and persecuted Presbyterians, to their great astonishment, heard the principles of toleration every where extolled, and found that permission was granted to attend conventicles, an offence which had been declared no less than a capital crime, even during this reign. However the king's declaration of toleration contained articles sufficient to damp their joy. James declared that he never would use force, nor *invincible necessity*, against any man on account of his religious persuasion. It is likewise remarkable, that James declared in express terms, that he had thought fit, by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and *absolute*

absolute power, which, *without reserve*, all his subjects were to obey, to grant this royal toleration.

THE dangerous schemes of other princes may be collected by a comparison of their several actions; but so infatuated was James with blind zeal, so transported with his haughty disposition, that even his proclamations and edicts contain sentiments which may suffice to his condemnation, without any farther investigation. But what afforded the most alarming prospect, was, the violent and precipitate management of Irish affairs.

THE Catholics were put in possession of the council table, of the courts of judicature, of the benches of justice. The charters of Dublin, and of all the corporations, were recalled; and new charters were granted, which subjected the corporations to the absolute will of the sovereign. The Protestant freemen were expelled, Catholics introduced, and the latter sect being in number the majority, were now invested with the whole power of the Kingdom.

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THE act of settlement was the only bar to their enjoying the whole property; and Tyrconnel designed to convene a parliament, in order to reverse that act. But in this violent scheme, he met with opposition from the more cautious Catholics in the King's council. Lord Bellasis went so far as to affirm with an oath, that "the fellow in Ireland was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." James, not satisfied with exhibiting the imprudence of his conduct in his own kingdoms, determined that all Europe should be witness of it. He publicly sent an ambassador to Rome in order to express his obedience to his holiness, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the Catholic communion.

THE Pope, little pleased with this forward step, reasonably concluded, that a plan so indiscreetly conducted, could never be crowned with success. The only mark of complaisance which James received from the Pope was his sending a nuncio into England in return for the embassy; for his Holiness, at the time, was involved in a violent quarrel with the French Monarch, which interested him much more than the conversion of England, wherefore

fore he bore little regard to James, considering him too closely united with his inveterate enemy.—While James opposed, in the most open manner, all the principles and prejudices of his Protestant subjects, he could not but at times be sensible, that he required their assistance in the execution of his schemes; and although by virtue of his prerogative he had suspended the penal laws and dispensed with the test, yet he would gladly have obtained the sanction of parliament to these acts of power, as he was sensible that without this authority, his edicts *alone* would never afford sufficient security to the Catholics. He therefore used every means in his power to break the obstinacy of the parliament in this particular. But finding all his efforts ineffectual he dissolved the parliament, and resolved to convene a new one, from whom he expected at least more submission. James's power at this time was exorbitant, his revenue so considerable and independent that if he had embraced any national party, he might have carried his authority to what extent he pleased. But the Catholics, to whom he attached himself, were not the one hundredth part of the people. James therefore finding little hopes of success, protracted

tracted the election of a parliament, and still proceeded in the exercise of his illegal and arbitrary authority. In Ireland Tyrconnel resolved to invest the Catholics with the whole power of the kingdom, particularly that of modelling all future parliaments : He addressed himself to the city of Dublin, and recommended them to surrender their charter to the king. The citizens hesitated to adopt a measure, for which not even a plausible pretence had been assigned. At length, Tyrconnel in a rage of disappointment, loaded them with reproaches and menaced them with all the indignation of the royal vengeance. It being in vain to expostulate with the Lord Deputy on the impropriety of his requisition, the citizens of Dublin, by the hands of their recorder, presented a petition to the king, stating their zealous attachment to his person and government, and imploring the continuance of their charter. The application was rejected with scorn. A *quo warranto* was immediately issued, and judgment suddenly pronounced against their charter. Many other corporations were soon after dissolved by the same procedure ; and some were influenced to surrender their charters by promises and

menaces. Previous to the removal of lord Clarendon, the king's mandate had been presented to the governors of the university, directing them to admit one Green, a Roman Catholic, to a professorship. It was ignorantly styled a professorship of the Irish language. The emoluments, therefore, as well as the office existed only in imagination; but tho' Greene was thus disappointed, the university expected with the most melancholy apprehensions, some farther attacks on their privileges. In this situation they resolved to convert most of their plate into money, for the purpose of erecting new buildings, or purchasing lands. They had procured the consent of their visitors for this project. But Tyrconnel having in the mean time arrived, and being informed of the transaction, seized the plate in the port of Dublin, and deposited it in the king's stores. The more moderate however of his advisers prevailed upon him to restore it to the university.

THE whole kingdom now resounded with complaints of the meanness, ignorance and insolence of their rulers; while the alarming state of the revenue made an adequate impression
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on the minds of those English ministers, whose views were not solely confined to the promotion of the king's schemes. The misconduct of Tyrconnel was solely blamed as the occasion of this ferment, which occasioned an urgent application to the king to appoint a wiser and more temperate governor of Ireland. To avert the impending storm, the deputy obtained permission to attend his royal master, accompanied by Rice, chief baron of the Exchequer, the latter of whom made such plausible representations of the state of Ireland, solely designed to recommend his patron, that the king, without hesitation, restored the deputy, to his government, where he continued to proceed with his usual violence. The next step of the court, was an insult of still a more open nature on the whole class of the ecclesiastics, and which rendered the breach between James and that powerful body fatal, as well as incurable. It is somewhat surprizing that James, when he felt from the sentiments of his own mind, what a mighty influence religious zeal had over himself, could be so infatuated as never once to suspect, that it might possibly have a proportionate authority over his subjects. Could he have profited from experience, he had seen instances enough of their strong

aversion towards that communion, which he was violently determined to introduce into this kingdom.

JAMES published a second mandate of toleration almost in similar terms with the former; and he subjoined an order that it should be read by the clergy in all churches, immediately after divine service. This clause the clergy conceived to be meant as an insult on them, and they were sensible that by their compliance they would be exposed to public contempt, on account of their tame behaviour, and to public hatred, by indirectly patronizing so obnoxious a prerogative. They therefore besought the king, that he would not insist upon their compliance with such an order, but he was incapable, not only of submitting to the greatest opposition, but of allowing the slightest and most respectful contradictions to pass unpunished. He immediately embraced a resolution of punishing the bishops for their disobedience; who forthwith were sent to the tower, on their refusal to give bail, but to the infinite joy of the whole kingdom they were honourably acquitted. James was still determined to rush forward in

in the same course into which already by his precipitation he had so far advanced. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration ; he sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he obtruded on Magdalen College, to elect for president one Giffard, a doctor of the Sorbonne ; and he is said to have nominated the same person to the see of Oxford. So great an infatuation is perhaps an object of compassion rather than of anger : and is really astonishing in a man, who in other respects, was far from being deficient in sense and accomplishments.

1688. **WHILST** every motive, civil, and religious, concurred to alienate from the king every denomination and rank of men, it might be presumed, that his throne would instantly fall to pieces by its own weight. But such is the influence of established government ; so averse are men from undertaking hazardous enterprizes, that had not the nation received assistance from abroad, affairs might long have continued in their present delicate situation, and James might perhaps at last have succeeded in his rash and ill-concerted projects.

SINCE the Prince of Orange's marriage with James's daughter, he supported a prudent and cautious conduct; he apparently concerned himself very little in English affairs, and he took particular care to avoid giving offence or disgust to any of the factions, or even to James himself. His interest as well as inclination prompted him to apply himself assiduously in continental affairs, and to oppose the power of the French monarch, against whom, he had conceived the most violent hatred, from personal as well as political motives. By such conduct the Prince of Orange, gratified the prejudices of the English nation; but as he thwarted the Spanish Monarch's wishes, who sought for peace, by a compliance with France, he sunk much in the esteem of that Prince.

JAMES, on his coming to the throne, perceiving it to be his interest to preserve an intimacy and be on good terms with the Prince of Orange, on many occasions gave proofs of his friendship for him, and the Prince on his part was not wanting in apparent regard and duty towards James.

ON Monmouth's invasion, the Prince of Orange dispatched to James's assistance, six regiments of English troops, which were in the Dutch service, and even proposed to take the command of James's forces against the rebels. However much the Prince disliked the maxims of the king's Government, he preserved a silence on the subject and gave no countenance to those discontents which were with such assiduity disseminated throughout the kingdom.

NOTWITHSTANDING James had entertained lofty ideas of his own prerogative, yet he found that the edicts issued by it, wanted much of the authority of the laws, and the continuance of them would in the end become dangerous, both to himself, and to the Catholics, whom he desired to favour. An act of the legislature *alone* could establish the toleration, which he endeavoured to effect, wherefore he solicited the consent of the Prince of Orange to the repeal of the penal statutes, and of the test, hoping if the Prince would declare in favour of that measure, the parliament would at last be prevailed with to adopt it. And in order to engage the Prince to concur
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with his views, hopes were given that England would espouse all those enterprizes which the Princes's active and extensive mind had so successfully planned on the Continent. The Prince of Orange was sensible, that the king of Spain, and the Emperor of Germany, were incensed at the repeated ill usage and injuries which they had suffered from the ambition of Lewis XIV. the Prince knew the weight of these Monarchs with the Catholic Princes of the Empire, and he himself had acquired a great ascendancy amongst the Protestant Princes; he therefore planned the project of leaguering Europe in a general confederacy against the encroachments of France, which already seemed to menace the liberty and independence of all its neighbours.

No characters are perhaps more incompatible than those of a persecutor and a conqueror, and Lewis soon perceived that by the banishment of so many of his useful subjects, he had not only weakened his own dominions, but had inflamed all the Protestant states against him. Amsterdam and other cities of Holland, had dropped all their private factions, on account

count of the furious persecutions in France of the Hugonots, and united themselves closely to the Prince of Orange ; while the Protestant Princes of the Empire formed a separate league for the defence of their religion.

THE people of England were anew incensed at the blind bigotry of their sovereign, and were ready to adopt the most desperate resolutions against him : it appears evidently from a view of the state of Europe at this period, that Lewis XIV. had not only sullied and tarnished an illustrious reign, but by this wanton persecution had created insurmountable barriers to his arms which otherwise, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to oppose. The Prince of Orange availed himself of all these advantages ; and by his influence and intrigues, a confederacy was entered into at Augsbuurg, where the entire Empire joined in its defence against Lewis. Holland and Spain became parties in the league. Savoy afterwards acceded to it ; and Sweden and Denmark favoured the same cause ; but still the league was deemed unequal to its end and imperfect ; so long as England maintained that neutrality, in which
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he had hitherto continued. However James might be more bigoted than his brother, yet he was at least more sensible to his own and to national honour than Charles, and were he not enslaved by the former motive, he would have supported the interest and independence of his kingdoms with more spirit. Therefore, when he entertained the hopes of promoting his religious views by opposing the schemes of France, he was not averse to that measure ; and he gave the Prince of Orange reason to presume, that he would second his projects, provided the Prince would concur with his schemes in England.—This certainly was a tempting offer to a Prince so ambitious of promoting his own views as the Prince of Orange was ; but the obstacles to that measure, appeared to him upon deliberation, insuperable. He observed that James had excited the violent hatred of his own subjects, and that great fears were entertained of his designs. The Prince was apprehensive should he concur in these detested measures, he would bring on himself the odium, under which James laboured ; and that he himself might risk the losing a succession, which was awaiting him, and which he had even hopes of enjoying, before
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it should by the course of nature devolve to him, by the egregious indiscretion of James. Therefore the Prince of Orange, would only consent to the repeal of the penal statutes, by which the non-conformists as well as the Catholics were exposed to punishment; but he esteemed the test as a security absolutely expedient for the preservation of the established religion. James was much displeased on this occasion, and took every opportunity to shew his displeasure, as well against the Prince of Orange as the United States.—He gave the Algerine pirates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his ports, and also liberty to dispose of their prizes. He renewed some complaints of the East India Company, and required the six English regiments in the Dutch service to be sent over, and began to put his navy in a formidable state. From all these movements the Dutch were apprehensive that James sought only an occasion of making war upon them. The Prince on his part resolved to carry on matters with more energy. He sedulously endeavoured to preserve the attachment of the Protestants to his interest, and to keep them firm in their present union against the Catholics. The Prince was conscious that the
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men of higher rank were for the most part retained in their religion,—more by honour than principle; and altho' every one was ashamed to become the first convert; however if the example was once set by any person of distinction, policy and interest would daily make rapid conversions to a religion which was so zealously encouraged and promoted by the king. The Prince of Orange immediately dispatched an envoy to England, who was to remonstrate with the king on his conduct at home and abroad, and had private directions to apply on behalf of the Prince to every denomination and sect, in a becoming manner. The Prince sent assurances to the Protestants of favour and regard, and assured them that his Holland education had not in any respect prejudiced him against episcopal government; he exhorted the Dissenters to beware of the fallacious caresses of a Popish court, but to wait patiently until in due time Protestants should grant them that toleration, which with so much justice they had long demanded. Dykvelt, the Prince's envoy, executed his commission with such ingenuity that most of the considerable personages both in church and state, made secret application through him

to the Prince of Orange ; and all orders of men looked wishfully towards Holland. However there existed some causes, which retained all parties in awe, and prevented them from breaking out into instant violence. The Prince was afraid of risking by an invasion, an inheritance, which the laws ensured to the Princess ; and the Protestants, from the prospect of her succession, still conceived hopes of a peaceable and safe redress of all their grievances. But upon the birth of the Prince of Wales, all these hopes vanished, and the English saw no resource but a mutual league in defence of their rights. How short sighted is human policy ! No event was so ardently wished for by James as the birth of the Prince of Wales, as he conceived the firm establishment of his throne would be the consequence, but what he had so long made the object of his prayers, proved the instant cause of his downfall and destruction.

ALL faction was for a time laid asleep in England, and Whigs and Tories, forgetting their animosity, had secretly combined in the design of opposing their misguided and unhappy Prince. Even Sunderland the king's favourite

favourite minister, is believed to have entered into a correspondence with the Prince; and at the expence of his own honour and his master's interest, to have privately embraced a cause which he supposed was likely to be soon predominant. The ties of affinity had little influence over a person of the Prince of Orange's rank and disposition; or should he even be reproached for violating the duties of private life, yet the glory of delivering an oppressed nation, would, he hoped, in the opinion of all rational men, be able to make sufficient compensation. Therefore the Prince was resolved to yield to the application of England and to undertake the defence of a nation, which regarded him as its sole protector. The Prince of Orange could not reasonably expect on the commencement of his undertaking, that it would lead him to ascend the English throne; but he unquestionably foresaw that its success would establish his authority in that nation. It must be confessed that altho' the Prince of Orange's virtue was far from being pure, yet during his life he was extremely happy in the different situations in which he was placed; for his actions and conduct contributed largely to the general interests of
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of society. So fortunate was the disposition of his affairs, and so secret were his determinations, that little suspicion was entertained of his real intentions to invade England. The Prince's enterprize was yet a secret to James, when Tyrconnel received intelligence from Amsterdam of his design, and conveyed it to the king, by whom and Sunderland it was treated with derision. James was so fully persuaded of the sacredness of his own authority, that he imagined a similar belief had impressed his subjects, wherefore notwithstanding the strong symptoms of discontent that existed amongst his people, his confidence in his army was such, that he, trusted, that in case of an invasion, he would easily be able to repel, not only foreign force, but also to suppress any commotion among the people.

WHEN the Prince of Orange could no longer, with *all* his artifice, conceal his real intentions on England; Lewis XIV. offered James every assistance in his power to repel the intended invasion. But such was the delicate and perplexing situation of the king's affairs, that he was afraid of accepting of Lewis's proposal. He apprehended that
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the introduction of a body of auxiliaries at this time might breed discontents among his own troops and that the old suspicion of a confederacy against Holland, and against the Protestant religion might be revived ; wherefore he rejected Lewis's proposal, Lewis considered James's interest so closely connected with his own, that at the instance of the British ambassador at Paris, Lewis sent orders to the French Resident at the Hague, to remonstrate with the states against the preparations, they were making against England. This remonstrance had a bad effect, and set the states in a flame. Even James was displeased with Lewis's officious conduct on the occasion. He recalled his minister Skelton from Paris, and threw him into the Tower for his rash conduct, and he solemnly declared that no alliance whatsoever of a private nature subsisted between him and Lewis. However the states affected to appear incredulous on that subject ; and the English, vastly prejudiced against their king, positively believed that a plan was concerted with Lewis for their total subjugation. Such suggestions were every where dispersed abroad, and they tended not a little to encrease the discontents, of which both the Navy and Army,

as well as the people, discovered daily the most glaring proofs. James finding himself opposed by all the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the kingdom, determined to appeal to the military, who, if unanimous, he thought were alone able to effectuate all his purposes. His design was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to give their consent to the repeal of the test and penal statutes; the first regiment that was drawn out, were told that they were required either to concur with his majesty's views in those particulars, or to lay down their arms. James was astonished to find, that, (two captains and a few catholic soldiers excepted) the whole regiment instantly preferred the latter part of the alternative. For some moments he remained speechless; but recovering from his surprize, he commanded them to take up their arms, adding with a sullen air, that for the future, he would not do them the honour to ask their advice. During this state of affairs, James received a letter from the Marquis of Abbeville, his minister at the Hague, which informed him to a certainty, that he might immediately expect a powerful invasion from Holland. James's eyes were now opened, and he perceived him-

self on the verge of a precipice, which his delusions had hitherto concealed from his view. He saw no resource, but in a sudden recall of all those unfortunate measures, which had caused so many enemies foreign and domestic. He courted the Dutch and proposed to enter into a league with them, he restored all the magistrates, who had been deprived of their commissions, account of their adherence to the test and penal statutes: he restored the charters of all the corporations, and annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission, while he caressed those bishops whom he had so lately prosecuted and insulted. But all these measures were regarded as symptoms of fear, and not of sincerity or repentance. Nay so unfortunate was James in his prepossessions, that in the midst of all his distress, he was so impolitic at the baptism of the young prince, as to appoint the Pope to be one of his sponsors.

A. D. 1688. BEFORE the Prince of Wales's birth, a report was widely spread abroad, that a supposititious child was to be imposed on the people; which ridiculous and absurd propagation might have been easily quashed in the beginning; yet by James's disdain, through haughtiness, to satisfy the public

public on the subject, the foul calumny gained ground, and made so deep an impression, that he was constrained to submit to the painful necessity of ascertaining the reality of that birth. In the mean time, the Prince of Orange's declaration was dispersed over the kingdom, and received general approbation. All the grievances of the nation were there fully stated and enumerated. The prince declared that his intention in coming to England was, to redress these grievances, and not with any view of conquest whatsoever; and that although James, from motives of fear, had pretended to redress some of the grievances complained of; yet there still remained a foundation upon which they could in a moment be again erected,—an arbitrary and despotic power in the Crown; and that nothing could rectify this usurpation, but a full and explicit declaration in a free parliament of all the rights of the people.—On the first assurance of an invasion, Tyrconnel was directed to transport four thousand forces from Ireland to England.

THE Irish Catholics still affected to despise the attempts of the Prince of Orange, until advice had arrived that the prince had ac-

rually landed in England ; that he was advancing to the Capital, and that James was deserted by his subjects. The chief governor and his adherents now sunk into consternation. Tyrconnel forgetful of his pride, descended to flatter the protestants and courted them, in order that they might make a favourable representation of his conduct. In the mean time, new commissions were issued by the deputy for levying forces ; and in all parts of the kingdom an armed rabble started up, under the name of the king's soldiers, who supported themselves by open depredations. Universal consternation took place among the protestants, many of them fled to England, others sought shelter in walled towns and protestant settlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of their enemy.

In the northern counties, where the protestants were most numerous they collected their arms, resolving to defend themselves, and even meditated the design of rising against the present government : Derry was the city which afforded them the principal protection and shelter. Seated on the left of Lough Foyle, it had a communication by a ferry, with the county,
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from which it derived its name. Although it was surrounded by a strong wall, strengthened by bastions, it was by no means capable of maintaining a siege against a regular army.— On the first alarm of the Prince of Orange's invasion in England, Tyrconnel recalled the garrison of this city to Dublin; but soon sensible of his error in leaving Derry to the government of the citizens, he detached a body of forces thither, in order to take up their quarters in the place. The apprehension of a massacre determined the citizens of Derry, to refuse these troops admission, and at the moment the troops were approaching the city, the populace, seized with an enthusiastic ardour, drew their swords, made themselves masters of the keys of the city, raised the draw bridge, and secured all the gates: they immediately transmitted to London an account of their situation and danger, and solicited aid from the Prince of Orange. But the magistrates and graver citizens, fearful of the issue, of an enterprize so disadvantageously undertaken, addressed themselves to the deputy, through the mediation of Lord Mountjoy. They stated their inability to controul or restrain the populace, terrified by the rumours

of a massacre, and declared their determination to confine themselves totally to self defence, without violating their allegiance. Tyrconnel, endeavoured to correct his error in withdrawing the garrison from Derry, when too late to rectify it. A detachment of six companies under the command of Lord Mountjoy, was ordered to Ulster to reduce this city. Mountjoy being a protestant was highly acceptable to the people, who however abhorred his forces. After various conferences Mountjoy was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly stipulated, that a free pardon should be granted in the space of fifteen days; and that in the interval, two companies only should be quartered in the city; and that the forces afterwards admitted should be formed of at least one half protestants; and that the citizens should keep the guard until the pardon was received; and that all those who wished to remove should be left at liberty. Mountjoy assumed the command of the city, and was obeyed as a friend and an associate. The example of Derry excited a generous emulation among the northern protestants; and Enniskillen and many other towns refused admission to Tyrconnel's army. In the mean
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time, Tyrconnel trembled in the capital, and seemed on the point of abandoning the kingdom. The Prince of Orange was now too much engaged in England, to attend to the affairs of Ireland. But what he had neither leisure nor power to attempt openly; he laboured to accomplish secretly with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, a catholic general, sent into England on the first alarm of an invasion, was in some sort his prisoner; this officer had served in France with reputation, but was banished on account of his imprudent addresses to the king's daughter. He was recommended to the Prince of Orange, as a person, who had considerable influence with Tyrconnel, and as he expressed the utmost confidence of persuading the deputy to resign the government of Ireland, the prince readily embraced the overture, that Hamilton should repair thither for that purpose. When Hamilton arrived at Dublin, instead of executing his commission, he advised Tyrconnel to retain possession of his government; assuring him, that the affairs of England began to assume an aspect favourable to James, and that nothing but the firmness of his friends was necessary to reinstate him.

The deputy adopted Hamilton's advice, and employed him in Ireland; however he still found it expedient to dissemble, and therefore assured the protestant lords, of his readiness to submit to the Prince of Orange. The deputy so much imposed on lord Mountjoy by his plausible professions of loyalty, that this nobleman was persuaded to repair to James, in conjunction with the chief baron Rice, to represent the weak condition of Ireland, and the necessity of yielding to the times, instead of exasperating his English subjects, by a fruitless attempt to conquer England with Irish forces. Mountjoy, after some stipulations with Tyrconnel in favour of the protestants, departed to execute his instructions; but on his arrival at Paris, was committed to the Bastile, while Rice employed himself in soliciting succours for the service of James. Meanwhile Tyrconnel grew outrageous; and utterly denied the stipulations made with Mountjoy; he wrested the arms yet remaining in the hands of the protestants from them in every place subject to his power; seized their horses insulted their persons, and plundered their houses. Temple, son of Sir William, at whose instance Hamilton had been
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sent to Ireland, was so much affected at the melancholy issue of his advice, that in the bitterness of anguish, he put a period to his own life.

LET us now for a time turn our eyes towards England. On the Prince of Orange's approach to the capital, James found himself almost instantaneously abandoned, not only by his army but his friends and domestics; even his beloved daughter Anne forsook him. In the impetuosity of such popular currents as now prevailed, all private considerations are commonly lost in the general passion; and the more principle a person possesses, the more apt he is on such occurrences, to neglect his domestic duties. Although these considerations may in some manner account for the Princess Anne's behaviour on the occasion, they had not at all prepared James to expect so astonishing an event. When the first intelligence of it was communicated to him, he burst into tears. Certainly he beheld in this incident the final expiration of his royal authority; but the more intimate concern of a parent laid

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hold of his heart, and in the extremity of his grief he exclaimed, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me."

It is remarkable, that James whose chief error consisted in indiscretions and misguided principles, should be exposed from religious antipathy, to such treatment as Nero or Domitian never experienced from their friends and families.

JAMES's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies, and his conduct was not such as could procure him the esteem of his adherents. Without fortitude to oppose the torrent, he preserved not presence of mind in yielding to it; but appeared in this juncture as cast down with adversity, as before he had been elated by prosperity. He summoned a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London; in conformity to their advice, he issued writs for a new parliament, and sent commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. But these were the last acts he exerted of royal authority; for attending to imprudent council, by which he was prompted to desert the throne he gratified his enemies beyond what their most sanguine hopes could have promised them.

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THE general desertion of the Protestants, made James regard the Catholics as his only subjects on whose advice he could depend; and the melancholy fate of his father furnished them a plausible argument for making him apprehend a similar end. But in the present distracted state of men's minds, the great disparity of circumstances was not duly considered. When England was inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles I. ought not to be considered a national act, but that of a fanatical army, impelled by a daring and enthusiastic chief: for the whole kingdom had ever entertained the utmost abhorrence against that enormity. Therefore the situation of public affairs, no more resembled what they were in Charles's time, than the Prince of Orange could in any respect be supposed a parallel to Oliver Cromwel.

JAMES's friends had conceived a very false idea which they instilled into him; that nothing would cause more general confusion, and more retard the public settlement than his desertion of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange with solid reason had embraced the contrary opinion, for he found it extremely
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difficult to devise expedients for securing the kingdom, whilst James kept possession of the throne; wherefore the prince, actuated by this public motive, and no less we may presume by private ambition, resolved to use every device which might intimidate James, and oblige him to abandon the throne. The Prince declined a personal conference with James's commissioners, and sent the lords Oxford and Clarendon to treat with them.

THE terms the prince proposed almost implied an immediate participation of the sovereignty; and he delayed not for a moment. the progress of his troops towards London. James every instant more and more alarmed with the proofs of a general revolt, not daring to confide in any but those who were exposed to more danger than himself, agitated by indignation towards ingratitude, and impelled by his own fears and those of others; he rashly embraced the resolution of withdrawing into France; and so carefully had he concealed his intention, that nothing could equal the surprize which seized the city, the court, and the nation, on the discovery of this event. The better to involve all things
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in confusion, James appointed none who should, in his absence, exercise any part of the government; he threw the Great Seal into the Thames, and recalled all those writs which had been issued for elections to the new parliament. Some imagined that the sole motive which induced James to this sudden desertion was a reluctance to meet a new parliament. But candour obliges us to say, that his subjects had first deserted him and entirely lost his confidence, that he had cause to entertain apprehensions for his liberty, if not for his life, and that in his present circumstances the conditions they would exact from him would be far from being moderate. By this temporary dissolution of government; the populace were now masters, and during their present ferment every disorder might be apprehended from them. They rose in a tumult and destroyed all the mass-houses, and attacked and plundered the houses of the principal catholics. The Prince of Orange was not wanting to the tide of success, which flowed in upon him, nor tardy in assuming that power, which the present exigency had put into his hands. Besides the general popularity

rity which attended the prince, a new incident, made his approach to the capital still more agreeable. A rumour arose, the effect of chance, or more probably of design, that the disbanded Irish had taken arms, and commenced an universal slaughter of the protestants in England. This ridiculous fabrication was dispersed over the kingdom in an instant, and every where occasioned the utmost consternation.

It was really surprising how any of the catholics escaped, in the rage that naturally follows such popular alarms. When almost every one, either from interest, principle, or aversion, had deserted the unfortunate James, who had also abandoned his own cause; the the unwelcome tidings arrived that he had been seized by the populace at Feversham, while he was endeavouring to make his escape in disguise, and that although he had been much abused, that the gentry had interposed and protected him. As soon as this intelligence arrived, the Prince of Orange sent positive orders that the king should not approach nearer than Rochester; but the orders came

too late ; for James arrived already in the metropolis,—where the populace moved by commiseration for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity received him with loud acclamations and applauses. During James's stay at Whitehall, little attention was paid him by any person of distinction ; and he himself discovered little intention of resuming the reins of government, which he had recently thrown aside. His authority was now evidently at an end. While possessed of power he exercised it with very imprudent and imperious councils, and he relinquished it with a despondence, equally imprudent and pusillanimous. The Prince of Orange it may be justly supposed, never harboured a thought of offering violence to his unhappy father-in-law ! But at the same time, he was sensible, that nothing would so effectually forward his own views, as James's retreat into France, a nation at all times so obnoxious to England. Wherefore the prince resolved to push James to a measure, to which his own timidity had already fully inclined him.

THE Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, and to displace the English. Lord Feversham having being sent by James to the prince to request a conference on the subject of an accommodation, in order to the public settlement, was arrested, under pretence of his not having a passport. A message was brought to the king in bed after midnight from the prince, ordering him to quit the palace next morning, and to retire to a seat belonging to the Dutchess of Lauderdale.

JAMES requested permission of retiring to Rochester, which was readily complied with. The prince had perceived that the artifice had taken effect; and that the king, terrified by harsh treatment, had renewed his former intention of quitting the kingdom. James observing that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all united in neglecting him, submitted to his melancholy fate; and being entreated by urgent letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him, and arrived safe in France. Lewis received him with the greatest generosity sympathy and esteem, a behaviour that adds
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more to Lewis's glory than his most signal victories. Thus expired the reign of a king, who we may pronounce to have been more unfortunate than criminal, provided we consider his personal character rather than his public conduct. He possessed many of those qualities, which would compose a good sovereign, were they not entirely immersed in bigotry and arbitrary principles. In domestic life, his conduct merits approbation. When Duke of York, James was severe, but open in his enmities; brave in his enterprizes; diligent in his pursuits, and honourable in his dealings. When he ascended the throne, his frugality of the public money was remarkable, his industry laudable; his encouragement of trade judicious, and his jealousy of the national honour commendable: but he wanted a due regard to the constitution and religion of his country; this quality being wanting, every excellency he possessed, became dangerous and destructive to the realms he governed in.

WHILE matters proceeded thus in England; Tyrconnel was confirmed in the prosecution of his measures in Ireland by a messenger

from James, with assurances that he would shortly visit that kingdom at the head of a powerful armament.

THE deputy however, had suffered the northern associators to proceed unmolested to a considerable height. On assurance of supplies from England, they boldly proclaimed William and Mary in the north east towns; but their exultation was soon allayed by Tyrconnel. He commanded them by proclamation to lay down their arms, and to dissolve their assemblies. General Hamilton marched against them with a formidable body of troops, and after various skirmishes, forced the northerns to hasten by different routs to Derry, as their last refuge.

AFTER the departure of Lord Mountjoy the government of the city of Derry had been committed to Lundy, a man who affected great attachment to the Protestant cause, and the utmost indignation at the tyrannical proceedings of Tyrconnel. However, on several accounts, Lundy was suspected of partiality to James; yet so great was the Prince of Orange's

Orange's embarrassment, that he was obliged to trust and employ him.

At the moment when the citizens were extremely suspicious of Lundy's designs, their agent fortunately arrived from London with assurances from the prince, that preparations were made for the relief and protection of Ireland. Animated by this information they now prepared for a vigorous defence. Lundy seemed to have caught the enthusiasm of the people and announced his resolution of marching against the enemy.

C H A P. II.

James arrives in Ireland,—he marches against Londonderry.—The great Distress of Derry.—The Siege Raised,—Battle of Newtown-Butler.—James assembles a Parliament.—His Declaration and Arbitrary Conduct.—The arrival of Schomberg in Ireland with an Army.—The Surrender of Carrickfergus—Great Distress of Schomberg's Army—The Crown settled on the Prince and Princess of Orange—The arrival of seven Thousand Danes in Ireland.—James exchanges Irish for French Troops.

A. D. 1688. **J**AMES who had been earnestly soliciting the court of France for succour, at length obtained his request. On the seventh of March this unhappy Monarch embarked at Brest, with fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire ships. His military forces consisted of about twelve hundred of his own subjects in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers; with these forces he arrived at Kinsale, and soon after made his public entry into Dublin amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Addresses were
instantly

instantly poured in upon him from all orders of the people. He returned to each the most gracious and conciliating answer ; but his fairest declarations were received with coldness and suspicion, when all the remaining protestants of the privy-council were removed and men of different principles substituted in their places. He now issued five several proclamations : by the first he ordered all protestants who had abandoned the kingdom to return and accept his protection, under the severest penalties ; and that his subjects of every persuasion should unite against the Prince of Orange ; the second was designed to suppress robberies, commanding all catholics not of his army, to lay up their arms in their respective abodes ; the third invited the country to bring provisions to his troops ; by the fourth he raised the value of money ; and by the last, summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the seventh day of May, 1688.

DERRY was considered by James as the place where his arms were likely to meet with the greatest resistance, and it therefore became the peculiar object of his attention. After various consultations it was at last resolved to

press the city by a slow siege ; and James determined to lead his forces in person to the walls of Derry.

AMONGST those who took up arms against James, was George Walker, a clergyman and rector of a parish in the county of Tyrone. He was zealous and indefatigable in the defence of liberty and religion ; he raised a regiment, and commanded it. Nor was he satisfied with discharging this service, but flew from post to post, conferred with the leaders, and animated the people to a vigorous resistance against the partizans of James.—Walker hastened to Derry, and informed Lundy of the approach of James, entreating him to give the enemy battle, before their whole strength was collected. Lundy in the mean time affected zeal and vigour.

THE enemy having crossed the river Bann, it became expedient to stop their progress over the Finn-water ; Lundy therefore stationed his forces for this purpose, but in the hour of danger, he shamefully abandoned his post, and hid himself within the walls of Derry, shutting

shutting the gates against many of those who sought the same refuge.

DURING this operation two English Regiments arrived in Lough Foyle, the colonels of which had orders to put themselves under the command of Lundy. They notified their arrival to him, and he in consequence, directed them by letter to land, but to leave their troops on board and to come themselves with some of their officers, to consult on the measures necessary to be adopted in the present exigency; when there were scarcely provisions in the city for ten days. Eleven officers from the ships, and five of the town formed a council of war; and in pursuance of Lundy's representations, it was agreed on, that the place was not tenable; and that the principal officers should privately withdraw from the city, and leave the citizens to make the best possible terms with the enemy. These resolutions being communicated to the town council, it was there also resolved to offer terms of capitulation to James who now slowly advanced towards the city.—These proceedings were no sooner known to the people than they exclaimed against the governor, the
council

council, and every suspected officer, and cried aloud for vengeance against their betrayers. In the violence of resentment, they slew one officer as he was hastening to make his escape from the city, and they wounded another. During this state of confusion Murray, a brave and popular captain, arrived at the head of a reinforcement; and although, Lundy commanded him to retire, he insisted on entering the city and was received with acclamations.

MURRAY inveighed against the base purpose of surrendering to a perfidious enemy; the inhabitants listened to him with rapture; and while he expostulated with Lundy, they rushed to the walls, pointed the cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party, who approached to take possession of the city. The more cautious and timid sent a deputation to James to apologize for this violence; but the body of the citizens unanimously declared for resistance. The authority of the governor, council and magistrates was no longer acknowledged or regarded. Lundy having resigned, the people chose for themselves two new governors, a Major Baker, and Walker, the valiant ecclesiastic; with this view, that,

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if one should fall, the garrison should not be without a commander. By these officers, they were formed into eight regiments, amounting to seven thousand and twenty men, exclusive of their commanders.

IN a short time the resolutions of the citizens becoming more calm and deliberate, they suffered the timid to depart without molestation; and Lundy, by connivance of the new governors, escaped in disguise to the ships. All matters were conducted within the city with the greatest regularity and composure; each regiment,—each company, had its particular station. Eighteen clergymen of the established church and seven dissenting ministers, cheerfully shared the labours and dangers of the siege; and alternately every day assembled the people in the cathedral church, where by the fervor of their devotions, and their animated exhortations, they inspired their hearers with the most enthusiastic resolutions.

THE brave Murray flew from man to man, exciting ardour in their bosoms as occasion might require. He told them, that it was not a few military evolutions, nor the
movement

movement of arms by rule, the mere parade and foppery of war, that made soldiers ; but strong bodies, stronger minds, the contempt of danger and of death. Or that if, in regular fields of battle, disciplined troops had the advantage, yet that advantage was useless here, where the defenders fought behind walls, a situation by which those who could bear most fatigue and stood longest at their posts, must ultimately conquer. That the enthusiasm of religion might be added to that of courage, Walker assured the soldiers who were destined to fall in this cause of a sure reception in Heaven, pointing first to the churches, then to the sky ; these were the holy places from which their enemies were to drive them, if they survived with disgrace.—That was the assylum prepared for them by their God, if they died with glory while fighting under his banners. It is no wonder that men whose passions were so wrought upon should make an obstinate defence ; but it seems surprising that the catholics, who appeared to have as powerful motives of religion, and still more powerful support, and who neither waited for officers nor priests to encourage and exhort them, should not have reduced these irregular

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lar forces. The catholics, however were not so much distressed nor so firmly united; neither did the same necessity exist amongst them to use such extraordinary exertions for success, that the others did for their safety. James continued his assaults for eleven days with unremitting but hopeless efforts; until at length impatient of disappointment, he at last left the camp and returned to Dublin, without achieving any thing worthy of notice.

WHILST these things were passing, Admiral Herbert attacked the French fleet near Bantry Bay, but was defeated and the enemy having effected the disembarkation they had in charge, returned victorious to their own country. When James was told the English were thus defeated by the French; he exclaimed, "it is the first time!" this is one of those speeches for which some may admire his generosity; but considering the French troops he had with him, and the hopes he rested upon that nation, every man of reflection must condemn him for his folly. The English on this occasion did not despair. No nation can vie with them in the happy facility of turning a defeat into a triumph.

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In this case the Prince of Orange knowing their disposition, and believing they had not behaved ill, went to visit the fleet, when it arrived at Portsmouth, dined with the Admiral on board his ship, and knighted him for his services. In effect he praised those whom he knew it was in vain to censure; he persuaded them that they defeated the enemy, and they readily believed him: After the departure of James, the garrison of Derry continued to defeat all the attempts of the besiegers and to harass them by successful sallies. In all these expeditions the command was offered to any officer who would undertake it, a mode, which, though it may be disapproved of by those attached to the strict rules of war, yet was very well adapted to these undisciplined forces, whose success depended more on their ardour than their knowledge in military manœuvres. This method might perhaps be often practised even by regulars with success, as forties mostly depend on the vivacity with which they are conducted, and are generally designed to surprise an unguarded rather than to attack a provided enemy.

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As the defence of Londonderry was much talked of in England, General Kirk was sent out to assist the besieged ; and at a moment when the citizens of Derry were threatened with both disease and famine, they discovered thirty ships in Lough Foyle. On sight of this fleet, the besieged gave the usual salutation of joy ; but General Kirk possessed too little humanity to make any hazardous attempt for the relief of the garrison. To the signals of the besieged, Kirk returned no answer that evinced any alacrity, the enemy, while encouraged by his apparent irresolution prepared to oppose his passage.

On each side of the Lough, where it grew narrow towards the city, they erected batteria, and arranged their forces on two opposite forts, while they extended across the water, a boom, formed of strong timber, joined with iron chains, and strengthened with strong cables. Kirk and his fleet soon after disappeared, and from the Island of Inch, he sent the besieged the afflicting intelligence, that as he found it impossible to force a passage by the river for his stores and provisions, he had retired to
Inch,

Inch, in order to make some diversion to the enemy and to send provisions to the protestant forces collected at Enniskillen, with a coolness which rather insulted than alleviated their distress, he assured them in terms of languid affection, that affairs in Scotland England and Ireland, were favourable to the new government and that great succours would shortly be sent them: yet he concluded with charging them to husband well their provisions; a caution more alarming than all the menaces of the enemy. Although famine and disease made daily ravages among them, yet when numbers of them were scarcely able to support their arms, they menaced those with instant death, who should propose a surrender.

THE women attended every service, animating them by their cries, and often assisting them with their hands. All the spare time of the garrison was spent in private prayer or public devotion. Yet amidst the union occasioned by common danger, it was strange, to see religious divisions break forth.

THE protestants and dissenters insisted each to have possession of the cathedral church, nor
could

could mutual slaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed, that one class should attend service in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. About the middle of summer, the weather being extremely sultry, they were seized with pestilential disorders, and died in great numbers; among others, the brave Baker their governor fell a victim to the disease. Yet even death in this form, more dreadful than that of war, dismayed them not; for so great was their horror against the besiegers, that it overcame the most powerful antipathies of nature. Their provisions having been exhausted, they sustained life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs and vermin; and even made desperate sallies, though too much weakened by hunger to pursue their advantage. In this situation general Hamilton pressed them to surrender on terms that were reasonable; but they reproached him with his own treachery.

ROSEN who was sent by James to command the siege, having more knowledge in the art of attacking places than the Irish generals, changed the dispositions, invested the place more closely, and made many furious but unsuccessful

successful assaults. At length provoked by the valour of the garrison, he adopted a measure unparalleled in modern times. He gave orders that all the protestant inhabitants ten miles around Derry should be driven under the walls of the city; and he proclaimed if the garrison did not surrender in the space of ten days, they would all be put to the sword. Five thousand miserable wretches, who were collected from the country all around, were driven accordingly with drawn swords, under the walls of the city.

THIS scheme weakened the spirit of James's army by its horror, and strengthened those of the besieged, by turning a sedate into a furious valour. Many of the wretched sufferers driven to perish under their walls, conjured them to attend to their own interest not theirs. For that a surrender to men void of christian humanity, could not serve those who were without, and would only involve those, who were within, in one common slaughter.

THE catholic officers executed their orders against their countrymen, with tears in
their

their eyes ; but nothing could soften the callous and unfeeling hearts of the French. The besieged, on the other hand, erected a gibbet on the bastion nearest the enemy, and assured them, unless their friends were allowed to depart, that all the prisoners taken by the garrison should be instantly executed ; and they wrote to the besiegers to send confessors to prepare them for death. During two days and as many nights, the unhappy victims of Rosen's resentment, remained under the walls, without meat, drink, fire, or shelter, where many hundreds of them perished. At the end of that time, such of them as were able to depart, were permitted to do so. But those who died, were the most fortunate ; for the others, infected with diseases, and filled with despair, beheld on all sides, as they wandered homewards, their habitations reduced to ashes ; the smok of some not yet extinguished ; and their cattle, furniture, and provisions carried off. A silence pervaded the land ; and they envied their companions who were at rest from their miseries. It would be an unfair and dishonourable stigma on the memory of the unhappy, to ascribe the disgrace of this action to James ; as he revoked the

order of the cruel Rosen, soon as he heard of it : his own misfortunes having probably softened his disposition, taught him to feel for the calamity of his enemies. Every miserable resource at last began to fail the intrepid garrison of Derry, and means of subsistence could not be procured for more than two days ; however the famished throng, listened to the exhortations of Walker ; and he assured them from the pulpit that the almighty would send them a speedy deliverance. Kirk in the meantime, heard the cries and saw the fires. But though enraged, perhaps he was not displeased to see his own character for inhumanity exceeded by the French general ; he however resolved to make a desperate effort to relieve the city. Two ships laden with provisions, and convoyed by a frigate, advanced in view of both the garrison and besiegers. The enemy from their batteries and musketry, thundered furiously on the ships, who returned their fire with equal spirit. The foremost of the victuallers struck forcibly against the boom, and broke it, but rebounding with violence, ran aground. The enemy exulted in loud acclamations and prepared to board her, while on the crowded walls of the
garrison

garrison, the besieged stood torpid with despair. In a little time however, the vessel got off by the recoiling of her guns; and passing the boom, she was followed by the other victuallers. The city being thus providentially relieved. on the next day the enemy raised the siege, after having continued it for near four months. The garrison was reduced by disease, famine and the sword, from near eight thousand to five thousand men: of these, more than one thousand were unfit for service, and the rest so strangely altered in their looks and gestures, that their most intimate friends could scarcely recognize them.

WHATEVER might be the sentiments of individuals, the body of the protestants rejoiced; and undoubtedly acquired strength from the success of the citizens of Derry; and in consequence, they every where made the greatest efforts to imitate their example, and to oppose the progress of a prince whom they never loved, and whom they now no longer regarded as their sovereign. During the whole course of the siege, James's army had been greatly embarrassed in their operations, by those protestants who had assembled about Enniskillen.

Lord Galway had marched to reduce them. He invested Crom Castle, their frontier garrison, seated on Lough Erne; but as he found it impracticable to bring up his cannon, he had recourse to stratagem. Eight horses were employed to draw two pieces of tin, of a cylindrical form, and so coloured as to resemble cannon. With these he threatened to batter the castle. The garrison made signals of defiance, and being reinforced from Enniskillen, drove the enemy from their trenches, and returned triumphant, with considerable booty, while the counterfeit cannon which had been drawn up with such apparent difficulty, were exhibited as trophies. In the meantime the number of the northern confederates augmented, but they were neither furnished with arms nor ammunition until, the arrival of general Kirk, when they became so formidable that James determined to attack them by three different armies.—For this purpose Macarthy, a brave and experienced general, was ordered to encamp at Belturbet, with seven thousand men, Sarsfield, another general of distinguished abilities, led, an army from Connaught; and the Duke of Berwick prepared to attack them from the north. But
by

by a singularity of fortune, the ignorance of their danger in all probability proved the means of their deliverance ; for they knew only of the motions of the Connaught army ; and they marched out with intrepidity, surprized the enemies camp, and routed them with considerable slaughter.

THEY had not a similar success against the Duke of Berwick ; for some companies which had been detached to seize an advantageous post, venturing beyond the limits prescribed, were cut to pieces by the duke on his approach to Enniskillen, but Berwick immediately retired on the appearance of the governor of that town. Macarthy marched against Enniskillen, and invested Crom Castle. An officer was detached to its relief, but the enemy advancing against him with a much superior force, he was obliged to retreat. Macarthy pursued him, and a skirmish ensued, which was the prelude to a general action between both armies ; Macarthy at the head of one, and Wolsley at that of the other. This engagement took place at Newtown-Butler.

THE Northerns compensated for their inferiority in number by their valour, and an abhorrence of the enemy, which excited their utmost exertion. Macarthy's army was defeated with great slaughter; and quarters were refused to all but officers. Two thousand of the catholic troops, were slain in the field and and six hundred were forced to plunge into Lough Erne, where they perished. Macarthy and many others were made prisoners. The news of this victory was soon communicated to James's army, as they retired from Derry, and it served no doubt to precipitate their flight. James had by this time returned to Dublin, where, in all the pomp and splendor of sovereignty, he convened a parliament.

IN the house of lords, a number of new catholic peerages, gave weight to that party; while the commons were almost entirely composed of Tyrconnel's creatures.

JAMES, in a speech from the throne; commended the zeal and loyalty of his Irish subjects; declared his abhorrence of violating either the rights of conscience or those of property;

perty ; and that he would readily consent to any laws for the good of the nation. A bill was immediately introduced, recognizing the king's title, and expressing an abhorrence of the Prince of Orange and his usurpation. James now published a declaration, in which he expressed his determination to protect the properties, privileges and religion of his protestant subjects ; but whatever might be his inclinations, he was at present totally enslaved by different factions. The French Ambassador, affected to take the lead in his councils, and James was servilely attentive not to furnish him with any pretence for complaint. All military promotions were conferred on Frenchmen, to the great dissatisfaction and discontent of his Irish adherents. In parliament, however, the latter seized on an opportunity of providing for their own interests, without any attention whatsoever to the embarrassed situation of the unfortunate James. They passed a bill for the repeal of the Act of Settlement a measure which still rendered James more obnoxious to the people of England ; although there is every reason to believe he disapproved of the bill, and that necessity alone compelled

compelled him to ratify it. Unfortunately for James, the bill was not only a favourite object of the catholics, but it was warmly recommended by the French minister; and their united influence was too powerful to be opposed.

THE purchasers under the Act of Settlement presented an address against the bill, but James coldly replied, that he could not do evil, that good might result from it: And when some peers determined to enter their protest, he observed, that protests were usual only in times of rebellion.

THUS passed the bill for the repeal of the Act of Settlement, with a preamble exculpating the Irish catholics from rebelling in the year 1641; and a clause by which the estates of those, who resided in any of the three kingdoms, and who had either aided or corresponded with the Prince of Orange from the first of August, 1688, were forfeited and vested in the king.

IN consequence of this act, almost every protestant in the kingdom was deprived of his
estate

estate. An act was also passed, by which a number of persons in the service of the Prince of Orange, and those who had retired from the kingdom and did not return in obedience to James's proclamation, were all attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unless within a limited time they would surrender.

Two thousand four hundred and sixty one persons, of all orders and conditions were included in this arbitrary sentence ; which was likewise so framed, as to preclude the king from the power of pardoning, after the first of November, 1689.

In a few instances, James had the resolution to adhere to such measures, as he was convinced would be agreeable to the people of England. He opposed and defeated a bill for the repeal of Poyning's law ; nor would he consent to the establishment of inn's of court in Ireland for the education of young lawyers ; a point so long and so ardently pursued by the Irish catholics.

Of the other acts passed in this parliament, the more remarkable were a supplement to the bill of attainder, by which the personal estates of absentees were vested in the king ; one declaring that the parliament of England could not bind Ireland ; and one against writs of error and appeals to England ; one for liberty of conscience ; another for abolishing the provisions formerly made for ministers in corporate towns ; and one for entitling the Romish clergy to all tithes and ecclesiastical emoluments payable by those of their own communion.— James had a monthly subsidy granted him by the parliament, of twelve thousand pounds, which was levied from lands ; but this tax however grievous was inadequate to his purpose ; and being unable to procure money from France, he, during the sitting of parliament, by virtue of his prerogative, issued a proclamation, imposing a tax to the like amount on all chattels.

SOME of his council ventured to remonstrate against this arbitrary measure, but without effect, “ if I cannot do this,” said he, “ I can do nothing.”

JAMES

JAMES in his present exigence had recourse to an expedient which greatly irritated his Irish subjects. He seized the implements and engines of one Moore who enjoyed the right of a copper coinage in Ireland, by virtue of a patent of the late king, and he established a mint in Dublin and Limerick. To these places were carried brass and copper of the basest quality, and from every pound weight of these materials, valued at four-pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value.

By the first proclamation, they were made current in all payments, between James and his subjects, except in the duties on the exportation of foreign goods, money left in trust, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promised when this money should be decried, he would receive it in all payments, or make full compensation in gold and silver. His soldiers were now paid in this coin. The nominal value was raised by subsequent proclamations, and this base money was ordered to be received in all kinds

kinds of payments. As brass and copper became scarce, the coin was made of tin and pewter.

It was obtruded on his subjects with circumstances of the most flagrant injustice. Old debts of one thousand pounds, were discharged by pieces of base metal, of the intrinsic value of not more than thirty shillings. And James by proclamation not only set a value on the staple commodities of the kingdom, and demanded them at his own price, but moreover, he obliged the proprietors to accept his base coin in return; and with all the meanness of a trader, he exported his purchase to France.

JAMES was not many months in Ireland when a mandamus was sent to the university, in favour of Greene, who had been formerly disappointed of a professorship. He was now designed to fill another office, that of a senior fellow of Trinity College; and although the severest vengeance was denounced against the college in case of non-compliance, yet they boldly, refused to obey the mandamus.

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They pleaded their own cause, and urged, at the same time, both the incapacity of Greene, and the false allegations of his petition. The issue of this unequal contest was speedy and decisive. In a few days, the fellows and scholars were forcibly ejected by James's foldiers; the communion plate, library, and furniture of the community were all seized, their chapel was converted into a magazine, and their chambers into prisons.

THE members of the university procured their personal liberty only by the intercession of the bishop of Meath; and this on the express condition; that on pain of death, three of them should not meet together. James issued an order, that on more than five protestants should meet together, even in churches, on pain of death: the apprehension of invasion, was indeed pleaded for this despotic severity, which however, was but too congenial to James's bigoted and illiberal principles. All men of sound judgment must have easily foreseen, that James by his imprudence and that of his council, was destroying his own views and designs; but it

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was his misfortune never to listen to sound advice, the common error of all weak minds.

HAD James attended to the prudent suggestions of Lord Dundee, he would in all human probability, have attained the summit of his wishes. Lord Dundee, a Scotch nobleman of consummate prudence and valour, who united in his person the spirit of an ancient hero, with all the fine accomplishments of the gentleman; pressed James to embark with a considerable part of his army for Scotland, a country where there were scarcely any regular forces, and where his presence would fix the wavering, and awe the timid; and where, as Dundee urged, hosts of shepherds would start up into warriors, on the first waving of his banners on the mountains. James was told, that it was in vain for him to consume time in completing the conquest of a country, nine-tenths of which, he had already under his dominion, and which nature itself seemed to have decreed should follow the fortune of England. That the advantage which would accrue from bringing the remainder of Ireland under subjection would be trifling; whilst, if the attempt should fail, the disgrace in such a case
would

would render the loss the more important. In the present unsettled state of things, while France threatened, while England was in open discontent, while Scotland was ready to burst out into a flame, while Ireland was ready to shed her best blood in his cause, now was the time at once to shake a throne usurped and unsettled, and to overwhelm a people who always trembled at the first report of an invasion, but collected strength, spirit, and union to oppose it, when long delayed.

It was urged if he failed of success, it would be more glorious for him to do so in one great contest, than to wage war like a fugitive, wasting the provisions, and weakening the strength of his country. But these arguments were insufficient to engage James to trust himself in Scotland. He apprehended if he went to the Highlands, his conquest would be barren, and that his troops would melt away, overcome by famine and fatigue, as they wandered from hill to hill, like the mists of the country; and if on the other hand, he repaired to the Lowlands, he would have to deal with a set of men, whose ancestors had betrayed

trayed his royal father, and who, while they were contending against their king, imagined they were fighting for their God. Such reasoning, weak and inconclusive as it was, prevailed with James. But notwithstanding, Lord Dundee was not idle in the cause of his master in Scotland. For he was firmly resolved to kindle such a flame of war, amidst the barren hills of the north, as might spread terror and destruction over all the country. In order to crush Dundee, general Mackay was dispatched by the Prince of Orange after him with considerable forces; and Mackay advanced towards the pass of Killcranky, which was a road between high mountains. Dundee resolving to fight him, abandoned that advantageous post, partly to animate his Highlanders by the boldness of the resolution, and partly to render the defeat of his enemies the more compleat, if it should take place; he therefore permitted Mackay to pass the straight without opposition, and delayed giving him battle till almost sun set, when he rushed down upon them with such fury, that he forced them to give way, by which 2000 of them were killed and 500 wounded. The rest dispersed of their

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own accord, and general Mackay was only saved by taking a way through the mountains, which lay westward of the pass, while the Highlanders were occupied in plundering the baggage of the English army. But on the renewal of the pursuit, the gallant Dundee was mortally wounded ; he fainted and fell from his horse ; when he recovered, he asked, how things were ? Being told all was well ; then said he, I am well ; and immediately expired.

DURING all this time, it was scarcely possible for the Prince of Orange, to act with necessary vigour in the support of his friends in Ireland. The English forces if it might be deemed safe to employ them against James, could not be spared ; new levies were therefore ordered and shortly embodied ; but the arms in the Tower having been embezzled, it was necessary to send for a supply to Holland. In the mean time, the neglect of Ireland became a subject of popular complaint ; and it was at length determined to send thither a body of troops. The levies for the service of Ireland, consisted of eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of cavalry ; but both the of-

ficers and soldiers were inexperienced in war. The chief command was given to the Duke of Schomberg, who, after many delays, set sail on the 21st. of August with about ten thousand of his forces, and part of his artillery. On the following day he landed near Bangor in in the county of Down.

THE garrisons of Belfast and Antrim, retired at his first appearance, some to Lisburn, but most to Carrickfergus, as the place of greatest strength.

SCHOMBERG immediately marched against Carrickfergus; and on his approach the garrison parleyed; desiring liberty to send to James for succours, or for leave to surrender. The demand was rejected with scorn, and the siege was carried on in form, while six ships battered the town from the sea. The garrison required leave to march out with the honours of war; Schomberg however insisted on making them prisoners, but at last, allowed them to march out with their arms and some baggage, and to be conducted to the next garrison. Schomberg's soldiers murmured at this indulgence, and such was their antipathy to James's

James's men, both from religious and political motives, that without regard to faith or humanity, they fell furiously upon the garriſon, wrested their arms from them, and were reſtrained from murder, only by the timely and vigorous interpoſition of the general.

SCHOMBERG's army, by this time conſiderably augmented from England, advanced to Liſburn, Hillsborough, Dromore, and Loughbrickland. From all theſe places, the catholics fled precipitately with their cattle and effects, burning all the towns behind them. Schomberg threatened by a trumpet to give them no quarter, ſhould they continue theſe depredations. The catholics abandoned Dundalk without injuring the town; and here the Engliſh army advanced in conſequence of it. Such was the opinion which James's officers entertained of Schomberg and his army, that they reſolved to quit their ſtation at Drogheda. Tyrconnel had the honour of diverting them from a reſolution ſo inglorious. He repaired to the main army at Drogheda conſiſting of about nine thouſand men, and aſſured them of an immediate reinforcement of twenty thouſand troops.

THESE succours having arrived soon after, it was therefore resolved to maintain their present station. The country through which Schomberg had already marched, was full of bogs and mountains, where the enemy's cavalry could not harraßs him. That which now lay before him was plain and open, where the superior numbers of James's army could easily surround him, and cut him off from all communication with his ships and his northern friends. Several of Schomberg's raw troops sunk under the joint severities of fatiguing marches and a rigorous season; and many of them lay languishing on the roads. In such circumstances, Schomberg thought it imprudent to advance. Mareschal Rosen immediately drew his forces towards Dundalk, while Schomberg fortified his camp against any attack of the enemy. In this unwholesome and confined station with a scarcity of all provisions, Schomberg's soldiers soon become very sickly.

IN the mean time, the enemy approached. One party was detached to seize a pass near Newry, so as to fall on the rear of the English, but on the first appearance of opposition they suddenly retreated. Another party

party of Rosen's presented itself before Schomberg's camp, but at the sight of some cavalry, they retired to the main body. Then the whole army, with James at its head, was drawn out and displayed the royal standard.

THOUGH they advanced towards Schomberg, yet he continued to conceive that James had no intention of coming to an engagement. At last James seemed determined to storm his camp. Schomberg now dispatched orders to his cavalry to return from a foraging excursion; and the English infantry were commanded to stand to their arms. Schomberg's orders were received with such joy and alacrity, that even the sick and languid seized their arms, in confidence of victory and were only solicitous to be relieved from their present distress.

BUT at a moment when a battle seemed inevitable, James withdrew his forces to Ardee. James's army affected great vexation at this retreat, and as if the storming of Schomberg's camp were an enterprize of no danger, they imputed James's irresolution, to a mistaken lenity and tenderness for his

English subjects. The English on the other hand, with more reality, suspected that James's motions were designed only to countenance a conspiracy, formed by some disaffected individuals, to betray the camp.

THE design was discovered on the ensuing day; the principal accomplices were executed, and a number of French soldiers were disarmed by Schomberg, and transported to Holland. Sicknefs in the meantime made great havock in Schomberg's camp; while the enemy, who lay on more elevated ground, insulted their calamities. But James's army were soon affected with similar disasters, and their numbers were equally diminished.

WHILE Schomberg was preparing to retire into winter quarters, he was reinforced by some regiments from England and Scotland. Schomberg in order to preserve these troops from the infection, resolved to abandon this fatal station, and for the present pitched a new camp beyond Dundalk. He ordered the sick on board the ships; but these proving insufficient for the purpose, he provided waggon's to convey the rest to Belfast. Notwithstanding the utmost care and

and affiduity of Schomberg and his officers, numbers died, and the roads were strewed with their carcases.

THIS scene of the sick, the melancholy, the despairing and dying, was truly shocking to humanity; for it was such a one as exhibited a lively picture of the dreadful calamities attendant on war; and while the bravest acknowledged they felt for others, what they would scarcely own they felt for themselves, it was a scene that produced such a complication of horrors, as made even heroes tremble. As the army marched, the soldiers observed companies that had not twelve men left. In short, out of 15,000 persons who at various periods entered the English camp, above 8,000 died in camp, or afterwards expired of the diseases they had contracted there

IN England, the most sanguine hopes of success were entertained from the military reputation of Schomberg. So much were his distresses concealed from them, that they had been assured his camp was in a flourishing condition; but when instead of reducing Ireland, the English learned that Schomberg was entrenching himself

self against an enemy whom they long had been taught to despise; their pride was exasperated; and all the factious part of the nation exclaimed in the severest terms against the prince's ministers. About the same time the Prince of Orange forming a vain scheme to unite the Dissenters with the established church, disoblged many thereby, and increased the popular ferments. Old grievances were now inquired into, new measures investigated, and the court found itself not a little embarrassed between the opposite factions of Whig and Tory, who, though perfectly different in most of their political principles, yet both alike concurred in their endeavours to mortify the administration.

In the midst of these ferments, Walker arrived in London, with an address to the prince from the inhabitants of Derry. He was received with every mark of cordiality, and presented with a gift of five thousand pounds, for his intrepid conduct during the siege of Derry. Walker was consulted on the state of affairs in Ireland, and the English being greatly exasperated by the unsuccessful event of Schomberg's expedition, greedily listened to
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the information that Schomberg's misfortunes originated entirely in the neglect of one Shales, a purveyor to the army, by whose misconduct it was alledged Schomberg had been left in want of artillery horses, carriages, bread, forage and medicines. In order to allay the indignation of the people, the prince proposed, that the commons should nominate commissioners to superintend all preparations necessary for the defence of Ireland. Thus the public animosity received a temporary abatement by this prudent management of the prince.

BEFORE we advance farther in the progress of Irish affairs, it becomes expedient to recur to the proceedings of the English convention which assembled on the 22d. of January, 1689.

THE commons, from the influence of present authority, as well as from the prevailing humour of the nation, were mostly chosen from the Whig party. After thanks were unanimously given by both houses to the Prince of Orange, for the deliverance which he had brought them; a memorable vote was in a few

few days passed by a great majority of the commons, and sent up to the house of peers for their concurrence. It was contained in these words, "that king James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract betwixt king and people, and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government,—and the throne is thereby vacant."

THIS vote, when carried to the upper house, met with great opposition,—occasioned by the factions of Whig and Tory in that house. The Tories though generally determined to oppose James's return, yet resolved not to consent to the dethroning him, or altering the line of succession. A regent, with kingly power, was the expedient, which they proposed; and a late instance in Portugal, seemed to give some authority and precedent to that plan of government. The leaders of the Whig party asserted, that a regent was unknown to the constitution,

stitution, except where the prince, by reason of his tender age, or infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that case his will was supposed to be involved in that of the regent, and that a nation governed by regents or protectors would in process of time tend more to a republic, than to a monarchy, whose hereditary regular succession, as well as present authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

THEY further asserted, that if there was any ill in the precedent of dethroning one king and appointing another, a similar evil would result from establishing of a regent. And moreover; allowing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad, where he would be educated in principles subversive of the constitution and established religion; and probably he would leave a son, liable to the same insuperable objection. But if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget, or totally neglect their claim; an advantage which could not be hoped for, while the administration was conducted in their name, and while they were still acknowledged to possess the legal title.

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This question was agitated with great zeal by the opposite parties in the house of peers. The question for a king was at length carried by two voices *only*, fifty-one, against forty-nine. All the prelates except two, the bishops of London and Bristol, voted for a regent.

THE house of peers next examined by piecemeal the vote, sent up to them by the commons. They first debated, "Whether there was an original contract between the king and the people," and the affirmation was carried by 53 voices, against 46. The next question was. "Whether king James had broke that original contract?" and after some trifling opposition the affirmative prevailed. The house next proceeded to take into consideration the word *abdicated*; and it was carried that *deserted* was better. The concluding question. "Whether King James having broke the original contract, and *deserted* the government, the throne was thereby vacant?"

THIS question caused in the discussion of it much more heat and contention than any of the former; but upon a division, the Tories succeeded by a majority of eleven voices whereby the last article with respect to the
vacancy

vacancy of the throne was rejected. The vote was then returned to the commons with these amendments.

THE commons insisted on their vote, and assigned reasons why the lord's should retract their amendments. The lords were not convinced, and in order to settle this important question, it was deemed necessary that a free conference between the houses should take place.

Never was a national debate, surely of greater moment, or conducted by more able senators, yet their debates were so extremely frivolous that they more resembled the verbal disputations of the schools, than the solid reasonings of legislators and statesmen. However, in public transactions of such importance, the real motives of any measure, are rarely avowed.

THE Whigs, now the reigning party, united with the Tories, in order to accomplish the revolution, therefore the Whigs did not insist that the crown should be declared *forfeited*, lest

lest that term might offend their new allies the Tories. Wherefore they artfully confounded together the king's abuse of power and his desertion of the kingdom, and they denominated the whole an *abdication*; as if James had given a virtual, though not a verbal consent to his dethronement. The Tories observing this obvious impropriety, the effect of the prudent complaisance of the Whigs, insisted on the word *desertion*, as much more applicable and significant. The Whigs retorted on them, that notwithstanding that expression might with more justice be applied to James's withdrawing himself from the kingdom, yet it could not with any propriety be applied to his violation of the fundamental laws. And thus both parties, whilst they from prudential or political considerations warped their principles, thus lost the praise and merit of consistency and uniformity; the managers for the lords next maintained, that admitting the king's abuse of power to be tantamount to an abdication, it could operate no otherwise than his voluntary resignation or natural death, could do.

THEY

THEY insisted that it was a maxim in the English law, *that the throne was never vacant*, but on the decease of one king was instantly filled by his immediate heir, who was entitled to all the authority of his predecessor. And that however young the successor, or unfit to rule, however unfortunate in situation, though he were even a captive in the hands of his enemies; yet no just reason could be assigned, why, without any fault of his own, he should be deprived of a throne, to which, by birth, he was so fully entitled.

THE managers of the commons might have opposed these arguments by many specious and solid reasonings; they might have said, that though on the natural death of one king, whose government had been agreeable to the laws, many inconveniencies would be endured rather than exclude his lineal heir; yet the case was different, when the people had been obliged to revolt, and dethrone a king whose illegal and arbitrary conduct, in every instance violated the constitution. That in such revolutions, the government reverted to its first principles, and the people of course were
constrained

constrained to resort to their original right, &c. of providing for the public weal; though by means, which, on other occasions might be considered irregular and violent. That the great security for allegiance was merely opinion, and that a system of settlement should be preferred to which it was most likely the nation would acquiesce and persevere in. That James had withdrawn from the kingdom and conveyed his son abroad, and by such conduct had involved his subjects in such confusion, and difficulties that the interests of his family ought to be sacrificed to the public settlement and tranquillity.

HOWEVER reasonable and plausible these arguments appear, yet Hume says they were not advanced by the managers of the Whig-party, both because they might imply an acknowledgment of the infant prince's legitimacy, which it was resolved to keep in doubt and obscurity, and also to direct a condemnation of Tory principles. The Whig managers were contented to support the vote of the commons by artful evasions, and both parties at last parted without coming to any kind of compromise. But

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at length the perseverance of the commons constrained the lords to comply; and thus the vote of the commons without any alteration, passed the house of peers by a small majority, and received the sanction of every branch of the legislature which then subsisted. During all these transactions, the Prince of Orange preserved a total silence, as if he had been in no way concerned in them.

THIS conduct might be deemed laudable and highly meritorious, but it was the Prince's misfortune, through the whole course of his life, and on every occasion, to be remarkable for a cold, dry, and distant address, which he could scarcely divest himself of, or in any degree soften or familiarize, even where his own immediate interest was at stake. At length the prince condescended to express his sentiments, though in a private manner, on the present situation of affairs.

HAVING called together a few of his friends, he told them he heard several schemes proposed for settling the government; that some

insisted on a regent, and that others wished to confer the crown on the Princess Mary alone, wherefore, if they chose either of these plans of settlement, he declared, it would be entirely out of his power to assist them in carrying it into effect; he stated that his concerns abroad were of too much moment to be relinquished for so precarious a dignity; and that at present he had not as much leisure as would be necessary to arrange their disjointed government. He informed them, that having fully accomplished the end of his coming amongst them, by restoring their liberty, it now belonged to the parliament to concert such measures as they would deem most requisite for the public settlement; for his part he would by no means interpose in their determinations.

It being now evident that nothing less than the crown would satisfy the Prince of Orange, the Princess Mary herself seconded his views, and sacrificed every consideration to conjugal fidelity and attachment, though it must be admitted she was more obsequious on this occasion, than the generality of her sex would have been, considering her husband was a
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man of so unsocial and unamiable a disposition. The Princess Anne also concurred in the plan, and on the promise of an ample revenue, was satisfied to be postponed in the succession of the throne.

ALL parties being now agreed, the convention passed a bill, whereby they settled the crown on the Prince and Princess of Orange; the sole administration to remain in the prince; the Princess Anne to succeed next, after the Prince and Princess of Orange; Anne's posterity after those of the Princess of Orange, but before those of the prince by any other wife. To this bill the convention annexed a declaration of rights, where all points which of late had been disputed between king and people were finally determined; and the royal prerogative more limited and more accurately defined, than in any former period of the English monarchy. We have already stated, that the popular ferments in England, on account of Schomberg's ill success in Ireland had been somewhat abated by the prudence of committing the care of Ireland to the parliament. Notwithstanding the

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people soon remonstrated with double violence against the miscarriages in Ireland ; and resolved that King William should be addressed to take these into his consideration, and to find out the authors of them. At this time William was considerably thwarted in money matters by the parliament, and he was even mortified, so far as to have a committee appointed, to examine into the management of his private finances.

WILLIAM had also his troubles on the Princess Anne's account. As she had postponed her pretensions to the crown in William's favour, she conceived from such a sacrifice much was due to her ; and having as yet no settled revenue allowed her, she made frequent complaints on that head. She had a strong party in the commons, who at last addressed William to settle 50,000*l.* a year upon her, out of a revenue which was hardly adequate to answer his own purposes, and which was only granted him from year to year, by the mere bounty of the people.

At length William, distracted between Whigs and Tories, upon some recent advances, resolved to close with the latter and to undertake the war of Ireland in person; to this resolution he added a design of leaving the queen as regent, to manage parties by herself, in the best manner she could. There were some who wished to disappoint William in his determinations, but he frustrated their designs by dissolving the parliament, and adopting every means to conciliate the affections of his new friends the Tories; and of disgracing the Whigs, of whom, although they had raised him to the throne, he now began to be beyond measure fearful and jealous. In the mean time, William sent cloaths, arms and ammunition to his troops in Ireland; and 7000 well appointed auxiliaries from Denmark, landed at Belfast, under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg.

A. D. 1689 SCHOMBERG's troops having recovered some degree of their former vigour, were employed in furnishing the frontier garrisons with stores; nor was James less assiduous in forming magazines, and preparing for the campaign. James it

was said, had formerly expressed a resolution of confiding to his own troops for success, but he now accepted of five thousand French troops, for an equal number of Irish transported to France, a measure however, that was not attended with the advantage that had been expected; for James's new auxiliaries were not only extremely refractory, but would not acknowledge any other superior than their own commander: who attending only to the the interest of his troops, considered himself in an enemies country, and lived at free quarters.

C H A P. III.

James's disappointment by the loss of his last Frigate and the Fort of Charlemont;—William prepares for his Expedition to Ireland—a Conspiracy against him defeated—Arrives in Ireland.—Battle of the Boyne.—Duke Schomberg killed.—James's arrival at Dublin.—He embarks for France,—several Forts surrender to William.—Siege of Limerick.—William embarks for England.—Earl of Marlborough arrives in Ireland.—Cork surrenders.—Kinsale reduced—great Disorders in Ireland Reduction of Athlone.—Battle of Aughrim,—Siege of Limerick.—Capitulation of Limerick.

A. D. 1690. **A** TRIVIAL incident served to increase the mortification of James. The only frigate he now retained of the royal fleet, lay in the bay of Dublin ready to convey to France some small vessels laden with various goods, for which he had obtruded his base coin on the proprietors. But Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who sailed from Belfast with a few ships, after some resistance took the frigate, with the whole convoy. But
James

James, however mortified by this incident, was still more sensibly affected by the loss of Charlemont. This fort was considered so strong, and so well provided, that Schomberg, in his progress had not ventured to attack it. To harass and distress the garrison, Caillemote, a brave French officer in William's service, had been posted on the banks of the Black-water with a considerable force, in the spring.

As the season advanced, Charlemont was more closely invested, and the governor summoned to surrender; which O'Regan, its governor, refused to comply with; but the garrison having suffered intolerable distress, he at last proposed terms of capitulation, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. During these transactions several new regiments of English and Dutch arrived in Ulster; and the army was every day encouraged with assurances, that William would soon join them. As soon as William made his resolution of visiting Ireland known, a dangerous conspiracy was formed in England by certain discontented persons;

persons, which was to be put in execution during William's absence in Ireland, in order to bring England once more under the dominion of James. But luckily the plot was discovered and completely frustrated.

A. D. 1690. At length on the 14th of June in the year 1690, William landed at Carrickfergus amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and several other persons of distinction. William, determined on a vigorous prosecution of the war, advanced to Lisburn, and Hillsborough, where he commenced the first exercise of his civil authority, by an act highly acceptable to the Dissenters of Ulster. William issued a warrant, granting the dissenting clergymen of the North, who had acted with so much zeal in his cause, an annual pension of twelve hundred pounds.

WILLIAM'S whole force assembled at Loughbrickland, from their different quarters, where they were joined by him and his suite. His army consisting of thirty six thousand men, well appointed, now advanced southward, to
decide

decide the fate of Ireland; while the fleet coasted slowly in view, to provide them with necessaries.

IN the mean time, seventy-eight French ships, in consequence of an agreement with the English malecontents before-mentioned, appeared off the English coast, and although the plot had been already discovered, yet these ships created such an alarm, that the English and Dutch fleets, ventured to meet them and give them battle.

THE fleet met, and a great and formidable engagement took place, off Beachy-head, in which a great number of Dutch ships were burned, shattered and destroyed; and the English fleet was defeated, and pursued by the French, as far as Rye Bay, where they stopped to try what effect the victory would have on James's friends in England.

WILLIAM not hearing of this defeat, however well informed he was that the French had a naval power hovering on the English coasts, kept all his troops in a body, and marched on through the course which Schomberg

berg had pursued before him, fully resolved, while things were at such a crisis both by sea and land to strike some decisive blow.

WHEN James received the news of William's arrival he committed the guard of Dublin to a militia under the command of Luttrell the governor, and marched with six thousand French infantry to join the main body of his army, which now were stationed near Drogheda on the bank of the river Boyne. James's army consisted of about thirty three thousand men. His council of officers advised him not to risk an action against superior forces, but to maintain a defensive war, until, among other reasons offered, the discontents in England should begin to operate more effectually in his favour. However James actuated by his usual infatuation contended for vigorous measures, and expressed his satisfaction that he had at last an opportunity of one fair battle for the crown. Yet with an ominous precaution, he dispatched Sir Patrick Trant one of his commissioners of revenue to Waterford, to prepare a ship to convey him to France in case of any disaster.

ON the last of June, at the first dawn of Day, William's army advanced towards the Boyne in three columns, he himself marching at the head of his advanced guard, which soon appeared within a few miles of Drogheda. Here William from the summit of an hill took a view of the enemy. James's forces had Drogheda on their right, a morass difficult to be passed on the left ; in their front the fords of the Boyne, deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by some breast works, behind which lay rows of hedges, and above them several small hills. On their rear at some distance lay the village of Dunmore ; three miles farther was the village and pass of Duleek, which in case of a defeat would considerably favour James's army.

HERE James called a council of war to determine on the sum of things, some of the more cautious of his Irish officers advised James to let his army fall back and retire behind the Shannon ; they urged that to retire was no disgrace, when the retreat would eventually lead to victory. And as the chances of war were scarcely ever so equal as

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to render it alike advantageous for two opposing generals to engage at one time, wherefore the same motives which impelled William to seek an engagement, should for the same reason point out to James that he ought as much as possible avoid coming to one. They observed also, that at present William's army was strong in numbers and his own weak, whereas, if James had patience, the contrary would presently become the case; for William's strength would soon moulder away, as Schomberg's army had done, while his own forces being used to the air and climate, would not be exposed to such diminution from diseases.

It was by this time known, that James's allies the French, were masters of the sea, and that more forces were on their way to join him from abroad, and more might also be raised at home if he pleased; while his enemies could not possibly get an increase from either. That in retreating to the interior parts of the kingdom, he could draw provisions wherever he went, from the garrisons around and behind. But by advancing into those parts, William would lose the supplies from
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his fleet, and would not easily procure any other in an hostile land. Even without hazarding a battle at all, the war might be terminated, for if the French fleet should destroy the ships which attended William, and block up the channel between England and Ireland his army would fall, and fall almost without a blow. On the other hand the impatient spirits in James's army urged, that to fly was to be conquered in effect. That to abandon his capital was to give up the kingdom, that his subjects would be animated when they beheld their sovereign in arms disputing the field, but would follow him with scorn if he fled; and finally, that it became his name and reputation in arms to set all upon the first great cast, which offered itself, and which would most likely turn up in his favour, since the conscience of the usurper, together with the fears and compunction which James's presence would naturally excite, would operate in his favour, and effectually contribute to William's defeat.

Nothing could be more absurd than the whole mode of reasoning adopted by those who

who were anxious for the battle ; but as those arguments are commonly most adapted to persuade, which are addressed to the passions, and vanities of men, so these prevailed with James, who entertained an high notion of the sacred majesty of hereditary monarchs ; and he doubted not but his presence would awe his English subjects in this country, totally forgetting with what mortifying contempt some of these very subjects had treated him, when in England.

IN the mean while, an event took place, which had nearly obtained a bloodless victory for James. When William's army had encamped on the opposite side of the Boyne, he, being anxious to inform himself fully of the enemies situation, advanced with some officers, within musket shot of a ford opposite the village of old-bridge : here, having reconnoitered the enemy, he sat down on the ground, to take notes of what he had observed.

NEITHER the motions of William nor of his army were unobserved by James's troops.
Berwick,

Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and some others, rode slowly along the opposite banks, and discovered William's present situation. A party of about forty horse were immediately sent by them into a plowed field, opposite where William sat. In their centre they concealed two field pieces, which they planted, unnoticed, under cover of a hedge and marched on. As soon as William mounted his horse, the cannon, were discharged, by which one of his followers was killed and two horses at a small distance from William himself. Another shot instantly followed, and the ball grazed on the banks of the river, thence arose, and flanting on William's right shoullder, wounded him slightly. His attendants crowded around him in great confusion. A shout of exultation rung through James's camp, that Orange was no more. The news was conveyed rapidly to Dublin and thence to Paris, where it was received by Lewis with the utmost transports of joy, as he was William's most inveterate enemy. But William having got the wound dressed, immediately mounted his horse again. He rode through his camp to shew himself, as well as to encourage and animate his soldiers.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM, concluding from the news he daily received, that there was an absolute necessity for fighting, and James having removed some of his artillery, caused him to apprehend that a retreat was meditated by the enemy; wherefore, William, in an assembly of his officers, declared his determination to pass the Boyne next morning in front of the enemy, an enterprize which many of his principal officers, and Schomberg in particular, attempted in vain to dissuade him from. William on this occasion acted with a laudable degree of propriety; for there are times, when a man's judgment, being fully convinced of the mode of action he ought to pursue, that it would be weakness to be diverted from it. Such now was William's case.

Thus determined, William next morning at dawn, ordered the river to be crossed in different places; which was effected without much opposition. Then advancing they found the enemy drawn up in two lines. In forming William's forces, the horse and foot were mixed, squadron with battalion, but on the arrival of fresh infantry, they changed their

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position, and by drawing the horse to the right, they considerably by this means out-flanked the enemy. But they were obliged to force their way through fields inclosed with deep ditches, extremely difficult to be crossed, especially by the horse, as they were obliged, in the face of the enemy to advance in order. When William's troops had surmounted these obstacles, beyond them lay a morass still more embarrassing. However, the enemy plunged in, while the horse found a firm passage to the right, through which they forced their way.

THE enemy, astonished at their intrepidity, fled instantly towards Duleek and were pursued and considerably harrassed by Count Schomberg the duke's son. But James's left wing being reinforced from his centre, Schomberg was pressed hard and obliged to retreat.

IN the mean time, William's main body consisting of the Dutch guards, some English battalions and some regiments of French Hugonots, passed the river, which rose to their waists. Many of the battalions formed themselves without any material opposition ;
but

but before the rest could come up to their support ; general Hamilton at the head of James's horse, charged them so furiously that they were thrown into immediate disorder. The Dutch and French hugonots were instantly broken, and on the point of betaking themselves to flight ; the Danish troops plunged into the river, whither they were pursued by Hamilton's dragoons. Duke Schomberg who waited to support his friends on any dangerous emergency, now plunged through the river and placed himself at the head of the hugonot forces ; who at that moment, were deprived of their brave leader Caillemotte, but Hamilton's horse on their return from the pursuit of the Danes, wounded Schomberg and took him prisoner, and were hurrying him away when he was killed by a shot from his own men. At the same time Walker, the famous defender of Derry, impelled by a passion for military glory, more becoming a soldier than an ecclesiastic, attended the battle of the Boyne, and received a wound of which he instantly expired.

WHEN William heard of Walker's death he pertinently exclaimed, "fool, what had he to do there?" A shrewd remark, which expressed at once the penetration of William, and strongly pointed out the impropriety of men's seeking for fame, in stations where it is not allotted for them.

IN this quarter, all went in favour of James's troops, who were now preparing to charge William's centre, and finish the battle by one vigorous effort. But at this instant William himself who had passed the Boyne with his left wing, appeared ready to attack them in flank, which unexpected danger threw the victors into a consternation, that spreading from man to man, entirely dispirited a people too soon elated and as soon depressed; and occasioned them to retire to Dunmore, where they once more made such a stand, as baffled their pursuers, and even forced the English cavalry, with William at their head, to recoil.

THE Enniskilleners, whose courage was so much boasted of, were forced to give way, and nothing but fresh succours prevented a general

ral rout; nor had even these saved them, otherwise than by covering their retreat, but that the brave Hamilton again charging the enemy with too great impetuosity, but too little caution, was wounded in the arms of victory made prisoner by the English and immediately conveyed to William. The reputation of Hamilton was so great that his loss turned the fortune of the day; while James's army was routed and fled by the pass of Duleek. James's loss in this action is computed at fifteen hundred men and the English lost about five hundred who fell in the field. After this defeat, James seemed to have lost all spirit and all conduct. Though he might have found means easily to have repaired his loss and still kept the field in a country entirely devoted to him, yet he thought of nothing but retiring. He went first to Dublin, and next to Waterford and on his way, broke down all the bridges behind him, and prepared to embark for France. In his flight he received letters that rendered his design more plausible, but he had formed his resolutions before these dispatches arrived. These letters informed James that Lewis had obtained a signal victory

on the continent ; and that his fleet had taken such a station as completely prevented his enemies from succouring each other ; on this account king James was requested to embark for France directly, that he might be landed in England with thirty thousand men, and leave his generals to *protract* the war in Ireland ; but that unfortunate prince had already precipitated it. however his spirits were as much elated by the news contained in these letters, as they had been depressed by his ill success at the Boyne. James hastened to comply with Lewis's request and in his passage met with a fleet of frigates destined to burn and destroy William's shipping on the coasts of Ireland. But James heaping absurdity on absurdity, prevented the frigates from going on this service ; and took them along with him to France, as a protection to his person. When he arrived at Paris, Lewis finding that James had brought back these ships with him, and hearing of his defeat, and also that the conspiracy in England had been crushed, Lewis, to the no small disappointment of James excused himself from fulfilling his engagement, and would not trust him
with

with either shipping or men. Lewis must have clearly seen the weak conduct of James, and not only that fortune had completely forsaken him at the present crisis, but seemed to mark him as a victim for her future vengeance: he conceived, possibly, it would therefore be fruitless to make any further efforts in so hopeless a cause.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of the Boyne, William summoned the garrison of Drogheda to surrender, and in case of non-compliance, in imitation of Cromwell's barbarous policy, threatened to put them all to the sword. William now gratified his English adherents, by issuing a commission for seizing the possessions of those that warred against him; all which were confiscated by virtue of William's commission alone, and no courts of judicature were at the time opened for proceeding regularly in the business. This measure served only to confirm the catholics the more in their aversion to the new government; and they therefore resolved to renew the war with the utmost animosity. In eight days after the victory of the Boyne, William divided his
army,

army, he himself marched southward along the coast. General Douglas was dispatched with all the cavalry to pursue James's forces and harrafs them in their retreat. Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon Fort were taken in consequence of these arrangements: Douglas proceeded in his expedition to Athlone, marched as through an enemy's country, his men plundering and murdering all before them.

By such barbarities Douglas's army became absolutely odious. When they appeared before Athlone, Douglass sent a summons to the governor of the town whose name was Grace. He returned a passionate defiance. Grace fired a pistol at Douglas's messenger, and said, "*these are my terms.*" Douglass carried on the siege for a considerable time without any effect, and at length, after several disasters, the English were obliged to decamp at midnight, and by difficult marches joined William who with his forces were now advanced to Limerick. William having resolved to reduce Limerick, if possible, this campaign; advanced towards the town on the ninth of August and summoned it to surrender. One Boisseleau,

Boisseleau, a French man, was the governor, and the Duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield acted under him. To the summons Boisseleau replied that he wished to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion, and knew no method so likely for him to obtain it, as to defend well the post committed to his charge; a gallant answer, but less boisterous than that of Colonel Grace, the Governor of Athlone. It was but three days after the siege of Limerick commenced, that Sarsfield, having intelligence that a convoy with artillery and other necessaries for the siege was on its way to join the English army; issued out of the town by a secret way, passed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the convoy, spiked the cannon, blew up the powder, destroyed all the rest of the ammunition, and retreated in safety by the same way he came, before it was possible for the besiegers to prevent him. William was resolved to carry on the siege, notwithstanding these unlucky auspices, and at length a breach being made, he ordered it to be stormed.

THE troops accordingly advanced, carried the counterescarp, and mounted the breach ; but the garrison, emulous to do something equal to the achievements of the protestants of London Derry, quickly shewed the besiegers that the reduction of the town would not be so easy a task as they seemed to suppose.

THE women likewise joined their efforts to those of the men, and notwithstanding a violent assault upon the breach, the garrison repulsed the English with great carnage, after a contest of three hours. Five hundred men slain, and one thousand wounded made up the loss which the English sustained in this unsuccessful attempt, that of their auxiliaries was nearly as great. After this repulse William ordered a retreat. Thus terminated the period of William's personal enterprizes in Ireland.

LEAVING the command of the army to Count Solmes and general Ginkle, and having appointed Lords-justices, William embarked at Duncannon Fort for England. From these miscarriages, as well as from other circumstan-

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ces of a similar nature, some persons who were inimical to William, took occasion to remark "that he never undertook a siege which he was not obliged to raise, nor ever fought a battle, where he gained a complete victory, one only excepted, and that was against his own subjects." Although the catholics had preserved Limerick against the efforts of the whole English army, with William at their head; yet they lost Cork and Kinsale to the earl (afterwards Duke) of Marlborough, who was entrusted with five thousand English troops, and being joined by the Duke of Wirtemberg with four thousand Danes had arrived in Ireland where, in a few months; he had made himself master of these important places. James now apparently despaired of deriving any advantage from the troubles in Ireland; he therefore ordered Tyrconnel to make the best terms he could for his party there, and then to withdraw himself from the government of that kingdom. But William, in an amnesty which he had lately issued, excepted from the general pardon, "the desperate leaders of the rebellion" almost every person of any note or consideration supposed himself

himself liable to be included in, or attacked under the above proscription; wherefore by the manner in which these sentiments operated on the minds of the principal people, William might as well have excepted the whole of James's adherents from the general pardon; although the catholics did not look on themselves as rebels, as they were fighting the cause of a prince who had been solemnly proclaimed their king, and to whom they had sworn allegiance. But now perceiving, that they were to be comprehended under that designation and viewing the whole of their situation and concomitant circumstances: deserted by James, and by Tyrconnel also, when he could not persuade them to a peace with William; forsaken likewise by the Duke of Berwick, who remained longer among them, endeavouring to prevail on them to relinquish their pursuits; despair, and resentment urged them to the adoption of measures for a vigorous defence.

THE situation of the catholics was at this crisis truly deplorable, they were now going to be sacrificed by James, as before they had been
been

been by Charles, who cruelly abandoned them when they were reduced to distress, thereby committing them to certain destruction for his cause, when he no longer considered it his interest to support them; that, attached as they were to James, it was not the first time they had been deserted by a Stuart. James had upbraided them with cowardice, but although this charge could not by any of their actions be supported, yet they were resolved to wipe off the imputation, by convincing him they would fight for themselves, and notwithstanding their low and unsupported condition, either ensure victory, procure an honourable peace, or die with arms in their hands.

It seemed to be the determination of all, to find their own resources, and trust to them alone. Upon this the Duke of Berwick finding his situation far from being agreeable, returned to France, leaving the command of the forces to Sarsfield. This commander had defeated William's attempts upon Lime-rick; the success of which had raised his reputation to an high degree among his countrymen.

trymen. Sarsfield having been attainted, his revenge and his interest now became united to his thirst for military glory, resolving by every means in his power, to stimulate his countrymen to a vigorous resistance against their foes, he was therefore every where active amongst them. But whilst both armies were well enough inclined for action, the people on both sides suffered unspeakable miseries. The troops dispersing into winter quarters, committed plunder and depredations in the progress of their march; the neglect of agriculture in most places, having rendered the country unable to support them.

THE French, on the side of the catholics, and the Danes and Dutch on that of the English, considered themselves as in an enemy's country, and therefore made no scruple to subsist on rapine and devastation. To complete the scene of misery, a banditti known by the appellation of rapparees, crowned their excesses by acts of the most wanton and capricious barbarity, while the different parties took these wretches into their service and employed

employed them to harass and destroy each other. But the rapparees were seldom of any other use in such cases than to heighten the horrors of war by monstrous acts of cruelty and inhumanity. They burned, pillaged, and destroyed whatever came in their way; mercy they neither gave nor expected, and their routs were scarcely otherwise to be traced, than by the fires they lighted up in the country, and the cries of the wretched and miserable inhabitants.

WHILE things were thus situated in Ireland, William, who had been terrified with a fresh plot, which narrowly escaped from been put into execution, gave orders to Ginkle, on whom the sole command had devolved, to put a period to the Irish war at all events. James on his part had sent back, with what money he could spare, Tyrconnel to command the army, but Sarsfield grew jealous on this occasion, and as Tyrconnel had, before his departure for France, declared in favour of moderate measures, he was now suspected of treachery, and many of the officers reviled and insulted him, particularly as they flattered themselves

themselves daily with hopes of assistance from France. To favour these expectations, some French officers gradually arrived and repeated the assurances of speedy succour. At length St. Ruth a French general of powerful abilities landed at Limerick with a commission of commander in chief.

A. D. 1691. Sarsfield was justly incensed, nor did the title of the Earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him to the indignity of being thus superseded. St. Ruth plainly perceiving the discontents of the catholics, resolved on a defensive war, and with the main body of his army took his station behind Athlone, and strongly garrisoned that part of it which lay between him and the Shannon, then called the Irish Town. Ginkle, being now furnished with reinforcements and other necessaries from England, determined to open the campaign by the siege of Athlone.

His first operation was the reduction of Fort Ballymore in Westmeath. This object being effected the English general advanced

ced with a party of horse within a few miles of Athlone, where from an eminence he surveyed the town and the situation of the catholic army, which was encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at the distance of two miles from the Shannon. Athlone consisted of two towns, situated on both banks of the Shannon, one called the English and the other the Irish Town, which were united by a stone bridge, and a ford a little below it; but the ford was now difficult to pass, besides being commanded by an adjacent castle. Next day Ginkle marched through lines of catholic infantry who gradually retired before him to the English district of Athlone.

THE walls of Athlone had been repaired, and the catholics resolved on a vigorous defence. But a battery of ten guns soon made a considerable breach, and orders were given for the assault.

THE catholics defended the breach with great bravery for a length of time, but at last by superior numbers being driven to the
bridge

bridge, many of them were either crushed to death or drowned in the Shannon, as the bridge had been broke down by order of Saint Ruth, by that part of his troops which occupied the Irish Town. This he did, in order to cut off the communication between the towns, although by this mode of security he destroyed many of his army. However the English general found new difficulties to encounter; the arch of the bridge nearest to the Irish town having been broken. Saint Ruth was strongly posted on the opposite side, who from his works fired furiously on the English town.

THE ford between the two towns was narrow and strong; wherupon Ginkle entrenched himself in the English town, and endeavoured to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river below the ford, and to construct a wooden work on the bridge, in order to throw great planks over the broken arch.

THE former attempt failed, on account of the banks not being firm; and when the latter was just brought to bear, a grenade
thrown

thrown by the enemy set fire to the wood work and in a moment destroyed all the labours of the English. This accident caused great uneasiness in Ginkle's army, as their stores were much reduced, and through hurry having totally neglected to secure a retreat, there remained small prospect of any safety but in victory. Ginkle failing in his grand attempt to render the bridge passable, at length resolved in a council of war to force a passage at the ford: The attempt was highly dangerous, as the ford was strong, breast high, and passable only to twenty men in a breast. The design might really be ranked among those rash actions which ought rather to be deemed objects of astonishment than of imitation.

THAT the enemy might not be alarmed by an extraordinary commotion in the camp, Ginkle determined to make the attempt at the usual hour of relieving the guards. Two thousand men were appointed for this enterprize, and the signal given, by tolling the church-bell. Their advanced guard boldly entered the river. To favour this attempt, the English fired furiously upon the enemy

from their works and batteries, and they returned the discharge with equal violence on those who were passing the ford.

THE detachment, however, advanced on intrepidly through fire and smoke, and gaining the opposite banks, mounted the breach that had been made next the river.

THE catholics, surprized and astonished at this effort of valour, fled to their camp. On this occasion Saint Ruth betrayed a carelessness and presumption unworthy of a general. On receiving the first intelligence of Ginkle's plan to pass the ford, Saint Ruth in the confidence of security sent three of his worst regiments to relieve the over fatigued garrison ; and when he was told the English were actually passing the ford, he exclaimed that they would not presume to attempt the town while he and his army lay so contiguous to it. Sarsfield replied calmly, that he knew the enterprize was not too difficult for English courage, and pressed him to send an immediate reinforcement. Saint Ruth was offended : Sarsfield retorted his disdain, when in the midst of the dispute, they were inform-

ed

ed that the enemy had got possession of the town. Saint Ruth dissembling his vexation proudly commanded that they should be driven out again, and some fruitless efforts were made for that purpose ; but by this time the English possessed the works opposite St. Ruth's camp and pointed his own cannon against him.

THE castle of Athlone followed the fate of the town. The governor and five hundred men were made prisoners ; and twelve hundred more were either taken or slain by the English during the course of the siege. Notwithstanding these disasters the spirit of the catholics remained hitherto invincible. Some flattered themselves with the hopes of succour from France, and were therefore implicitly obedient to St. Ruth, while those who knew the power of the English government saw no prospect of safety but in a desperate effort of valour. There were others who had espoused James's cause from principle, and had taken up arms in defence of their religion and for the recovery of their property ; they were on these considerations eager to conti-

pue the war, as the only means that could afford a possibility of accomplishing their ends.

THE entire catholic force was resolved from various motives to bring the contest to a final issue in the field. Ginkle had received authority from William, long since, to publish a free pardon to all such of the catholics as chose to take the benefit of it, but the Dutchman had delayed the publication of it to a period rather too late. St. Ruth, apprehensive that many of his troops would avail themselves of Ginkle's proclamation, changed his plan of a defensive war and resolved to rest the fate of Ireland upon the issue of a battle, while he had yet the means left him of assembling an army wherewith to make one general effort.

A. D. 1691 THE English general discovering his intention, strengthened his army, by drawing in every detachment that could be spared from all his posts. The fate of Ireland was now ready to be decided, and the minds of all men were agitated with the expectation of the event.

ON

A. D. 1691. ON the tenth of June, Ginkle marched from Athlone, and encamped along the river Suir in the county of Roscommon. While St. Ruth took his station to much greater advantage, about three miles farther to the south west, his camp extended in a line of two miles along the heights of Killcommeden, with a rivulet on his left, running between hills and morasses, and these again skirted by a large bog.

ABOUT half a mile to the front lay a wide bog, with two passages, one led to the right, the other to the left of St. Ruth's camp.

THE passage on the left opened into a corn-field, in which, however only four battalions could form a front. Farther on were difficult grounds and the ruins of the castle of Aughrim, where cannon were placed. The passage to the right opened upon ground that was wider but yet afforded not room for an army.

THE space between these two passages was filled with hedges and ditches, communicating with each other and lined with musketeers,

teers. On the 12th of July at noon, the English army advanced in as good order as the nature of the ground would admit; they marched in two divisions to the right and left of the bog, with the design of flanking the enemy and joining on the rising ground; the left wing of the English marched boldly against the enemy, who obstinately maintained their posts; defending their ditches until the muskets of each side closed with the other; when, retiring by their lines of communication, they flanked their assailants and charged them with double fury. St. Ruth found it necessary to draw a considerable part of his cavalry from his left to support his right wing. On this Mackay advised Ginkle, while the cavalry were in motion to gain the pass by Aughrim castle, which stood on the side of the bog, accordingly several regiments in the centre were ordered to march through the bog in front, and to post themselves in the corn field, until the English horse had gained the pass, and would wheel from the right to support their charge.

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THE English infantry having with great difficulty passed the bog, forgot the injunctions they received to remain inactive until the horse had secured the pass; and imprudently advanced to the line of hedges, from which the enemy artfully retired in order to draw the English on. The stratagem succeeded; for the English eagerly pursued, till by means of the communication the catholics had made between the hedges, they found themselves furrounded, and fired upon at once, in front, flank and rear, whilst Ginkle who had not yet overcome the difficulties of the rugged and uneven ground, could not afford them any assistance. This false step nearly occasioned the entire defeat of that wing; for the men thus embarrassed gave way on all sides, some to the corn field, while others even fled back through the bog. When the English generals beheld this scene, they bent their whole force to that quarter, where their friends were distressed, while St. Ruth viewing from an eminence their embarrassment, threw his hat up three times in the air, and shouted for joy; giving those about him the assurances of what he considered a certain victory.

His

HIS attention, however was soon directed to the English cavalry on his left, who seeing the alarming disorder of the centre pushed on with incredible ardour close by the walls of the castle through all the fire of their opponents, to the amazement of whom they forced their way through a narrow and dangerous defile. St. Ruth now finding the scene about to change, and observing the two divisions of the enemy to the right and left gathering upon the rising ground, resolved with all speed to prevent the junction. He rode down with a body of horse from the hill, determined to fall upon the enemy's cavalry in a dangerous hollow way, through which they were obliged to pass. But while he was conducting this enterprize a cannon ball deprived him of life. This so disheartened his men, that they first halted and afterwards fled; nor could Sarsfield, who was second in command, be of any service in this crisis, since on account of the enmity that subsisted between him and St. Ruth, he was totally ignorant of that general's plans and dispositions.

THE whole catholic army was now divided into three bodies, neither of which knew what plan they were to act upon, while the two divisions of Ginkle's army, conducted by their generals, kept their uniform disposition, of verging towards each other; which alone could procure them victory, they found themselves every moment nearer attaining their end; while the body of English appointed to pass the hollow way having compassed their design, began to attack the enemy in flank, who were totally unable to prevent them; which perceiving, after a struggle that was vain, they fled with precipitation and abandoned the field to the English, who gained a complete victory. The glory of this conquest they however sullied by their barbarity and cruelty in not granting quarters to the vanquished, who lost in the action and pursuit about seven thousand men, together with their tents baggage and military stores. The loss of the English amounted to no more than seven hundred slain in battle.

THE English very probably owed this victory to the death of St. Ruth, who though he

was

was ill beloved by the catholics, and had lost them Athlone, was yet an able general. And it must be allowed, that the catholics made a most gallant resistance as long as there existed any probability of success, and therefore ought to have been treated as a brave and valiant enemy.

LIMERICK being the only place of any considerable strength remaining in the hands of the Irish, thither the fugitives retired, and Ginkle immediately prepared to follow them, taking all places in his way and Galway among the rest. Ginkle made his approaches to Limerick in the same manner William had done before, and met with little opposition, as the catholics were resolved to trust to the strength of their fortifications, and the aid from France which they now expected rather than by any hazards to dispirit the shattered remains of their armies. Ginkle continued for the space of ten days battering the town, which still held out, in hopes of either obtaining succour from France, or of harrassing the besiegers so as to oblige them to desert their attempt in the same manner

William

William had done the year before. But after every effort had been made in defence of the town, the garrison on the 23d of September beat a parley. The English granted a truce for three days; and on the last day of the truce, the catholic leaders proposed the terms of capitulation, which Ginkle refused to grant.

By a second deputation, he was desired to propose such terms as he would grant. He consented that the catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as in the reign of Charles II. He engaged that all included in the capitulation should enjoy their estates, and pursue their employments freely as in Charles's reign, that their gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and that no oath should be required of any except that of allegiance.

THE garrison accepted these concessions as the basis of a treaty; and on the 3d of October, was adjusted and signed the civil articles by the chief governors Porter and Corningsby who arrived in the camp for that purpose; and the military ones by general Ginkle.

A few days after the capitulation was signed, a French fleet of eighteen sail with ammunition and provisions, arrived on the coast, a sight which a few days before would have been most welcome to the catholics, but now only served to overwhelm them with sorrow.

C H A P

C H A P. III.

William's Situation,—Massacre of Glenco.—Irish Protestants dissatisfied with the Terms granted the Catholics at Limerick.—Most of the Catholic Soldiers embarked for France.—An account of the Conspiracy formed against William.—Death of James and William.

A. D. 1691. **D**URING these transactions in Ireland, William was no less employed in foreign than in domestic wars. Lewis XIV. penetrated into Piedmont, before the Germans could prevent his designs; but when they arrived the French retired. On the Rhine, the German and the French armies were nearly equal to each other; for which reason they avoided coming to action; whilst in Flanders, William forced Mareschall Boufflers to abandon the bombardment of Liege; but in return when he quitted his army, the French defeated part of it near to Combron.

THE English and French fleets watched each other, and most people were uneasy at the enormous expences the nation had been
at,

at, without having obtained any considerable success to counter-balance the vast sums that had been so liberally granted. Yet William, imagining, that when Ireland was reduced, he might ask almost any thing securely of his parliament, at the end of the campaign, fitted out a large fleet; mustered sixty five thousand land forces for the services of the ensuing year, for the support of which, after some delays, no less a sum than three millions and an half was granted.

THERE were attempts made however to procure many popular laws, to one of which the king refused his assent, namely that of establishing Judges in their offices for life; which plainly shews, that William notwithstanding his accession to the throne, resulted *immediately* from the will of the people, was too tenacious of his new prerogative to relinquish a particle of it, though his present Majesty George III. cheerfully made concessions on similar principles to both the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. William came to the throne solely by the misconduct, folly and arbitrary sway of the tyrannic James; professed himself the scourge of tyranny
and

and oppression ; but impartiality obliges us to say that William himself resorted to despotic and barbarous acts; by establishing his power over part of his dominions in the blood of his unresisting subjects, I allude to the *massacre of Glenco* in Scotland. The cause and effect of which, justice demands should be ingenuously related, as such events, as tend to pourtray the characters and conduct of those two princes who contended for dominion in Ireland, ought not to be concealed from posterity. Upon the discovery of the conspiracy against William in England, in the year 1690, Lord Tarbet, having suggested a scheme for prevailing on the Highlanders to lay down their arms, which they had taken up under Lord Dundee, and which they had never since entirely quitted; and Lord Breadalbane offered to carry it into effect. Breadalbane's offers had been the more readily accepted by government, because He was known to have more influence and credit with the Highlanders, than any man in Scotland, at the time there were rumours of a French invasion into that country in favour of the dethroned Monarch. But government neglected to carry this project into effect, on account of some advantages recent-

ly gained over the Highlanders, and who, after having heard the invasion was to reach no farther than England, had kept themselves quiet within their own country in the summer; but winter had no sooner set in, than they renewed their hostilities.

UPON this Breadalbane revived his proposal, and sent his scheme for settling the Highlands, to Sir John Dalrymple secretary of state, who was then attending William in Flanders. The scheme was this, that a pardon and twelve thousand pounds, should be given to the Highlanders, most of the money to be applied to exonerate their estates from the Duke of Argyle's claim, and that a pension should be granted to all the Highland chiefs in Scotland, on condition of their keeping four thousand of their people disciplined for war; and ready to serve at home and abroad.

THE secretary readily adopted it, and laid it before the King, who sent for Breadalbane to come to him in Flanders to adjust the terms. On Breadalbane's return to Scotland he brought the treaty with the Highlanders.

nearly

nearly to a conclusion. A proclamation issued in the autumn of 1691, which declared that all rebels who took the oaths to the government, before the first of January ensuing, should be pardoned.

THE Duke of Hamilton in the mean time, either from envy against Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, or because he believed he could make better terms for William, sent emissaries to the Highlands to prevent the conclusion of the treaty.

THE Highland chiefs acted with much duplicity, they wrote to James for his permission to make a treaty, promising that they would observe it no longer than it was for his interest, and at the same time to create jealousies in William of his servants, and among his servants, themselves, they informed Duke Hamilton and Breadalbane's enemies, Lord Slaine and his Son, that Breadalbane had concurred with them in the terms on which they had asked James's consent to the treaty. Upon this, accusations were presented to the privy council and parliament, and sent to the Kin

against Breadalbane ; and general Mackay inflated with the honour he had acquired in his own profession in Ireland, wrote privately to the King against Lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, most of which were communicated to the latter of these persons.

WILLIAM, who was steady to the persons he confided in, received the accusations with disregard. But Breadalbane retained deep resentment in his breast against the Highlanders for their breach of faith, as well as for the injuries they designed to do him. Wherefore a new scheme was suggested by Breadalbane, which was adopted by Dalrymple the secretary, and assented to by William, for cutting off all the Highlanders, who should not take the oaths to the new government, by the time prescribed in the proclamation. The mode of execution was intended to be by what were called in Scotland letters of fire and sword, most inhuman, but legal instruments of destruction in that country against attainted rebels. The order was sent to the privy council, who immediately appointed a committee to carry it into execution ;

execution ; and ordered money, a ship, and other military preparations for that purpose.

BREADALBANE, Tarber and Argyle, had agreed privately to lend their assistance, if necessary. William's troops were properly posted. The Marquis of Athol, who, had for some time, by means of general Mackay, been paying his court to the new government, likewise had an hundred men prepared for the same abominable purpose. But it is probable that some of the privy council warned the Highlanders of their danger, for all the attainted chiefs took the oaths previous to the time prefixed, except Mac Donald of Glenco. Glenco went on the last of December to fort William, and desired the oaths to be tendered to him by the governor, but as that officer was not a civil magistrate, he refused to administer the oaths. Glenco then went to the country town to take them before the sheriff of the county, but was prevented by bad weather from reaching the town, until a few days after the term prescribed by the proclamation was elapsed.

THE sheriff scrupled at first, but at length was prevailed upon to take his oath of allegiance. Advantage however was taken of Glenco's not having literally complied with the terms of the proclamation, and a warrant for his execution was procured from William, which was signed both above and below with the king's own hand. This warrant was put in force, with many circumstances of extreme rigour. Sir John Dalrymple gave orders that the execution should be effectual, and without any previous warning. For this purpose, in the month of February, two companies of Highland soldiers, chosen for the occasion, went, not as enemies, but as friends, into the valley of Glenco where all the clan lived. To conceal the intention the better, the soldiers were of their own lineage, and the commanding officer captain Campbell was uncle to the wife of one of Glenco's sons. All were received with the rude but kind hospitality of the country.

THEY continued in the valley near a fortnight, and then in the night time rose to butcher their hosts. Captain Campbell supervised

ped and played cards with Glenco's family, the evening before. Thirty eight men were slain. The rest would have shared the same fate, had not the alarm been given by one of Glenco's sons, who overheard one of the soldiers say to another, "he liked not the work ; he feared not to fight the Mac Donalds in the field, but had scarcely courage to kill them in their sleep, but their officers were answerable for the deed, not they."—Two hundred victims had been devoted by the government, but of these an hundred and sixty escaped, carrying with them an irreconcilable hatred to the new government. William, under whose sanction this treachery had been perpetrated, finding his name every where execrated for the barbarity, and hearing also, that the affair had been published and made a great noise at Paris, and observing the horror it excited among his own subjects, affected to set on foot an enquiry concerning the authors of the massacre, the previous knowledge of which he now thought proper to disavow, by saying he had signed the order amongst an heap of other papers, without being acquainted with its contents. A weak
excuse,

excuse, the futility of which sufficiently appeared by his actions ; for though he dismissed the master of Stair from his employment of secretary ; and affected to make some bustle in the affair, yet he never brought the perpetrators of this barbarity to condign punishment, as unquestionably he would have done for the sake of his own honour and character, if he himself had not been too deeply implicated in the business, by having seriously assented to this infamous scheme of assassination.

THE Irish protestants in general were much dissatisfied with the terms granted by Ginkle to the catholics. They complained that they who had suffered for their loyalty to William were disregarded, while their enemies were not only pardoned, but even indulged, since they were allowed the honours of war, and permitted to transport themselves into foreign countries. But the event proved that Ginkle was right in granting such favourable terms, as the arrival of the French fleet would have been the means of raising the siege of Limerick, and have added fresh vigour and spirit to the Irish catholics. After the capitulation
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Limerick fourteen thousand catholics conveyed themselves beyond the seas, preferring to abandon their native country for ever, and to become the subjects of a foreign power, rather than relinquish the full exercise of their religion, and the interest of their exiled and unfortunate sovereign.

SUCH of the catholic troops as remained at Limerick on the ratification of the articles of capitulation, embarked under convoy of the French fleet for France; Lewis XIV. had given orders for their being new clothed, and put into comfortable quarters. Thus James endeavoured to sooth himself, and them, for their disappointments and ill success in Ireland.

ON the other hand, William conferred marks of honour and esteem on his friends, but even in this he could not divest himself of manifest tokens of partiality to foreigners, which were extremely disgusting to the English nation. However William found the English in general well pleased with the reduction of Ireland, but his want of attention

tion to the minute sources of discontent frequently involved him and his subjects in troubles, and was in reality one of the chief causes of the disquietude that disturbed his reign.

It was on this account, together with a certain fullness and reserve peculiar to his temper and country, that many of those who crowded to the standard of the Prince of Orange, now deserted or despised king William. They said that he did not love England, and that he had dismissed from his council, many of those who had been principally instrumental in raising him to the throne. They also said that he had overturned the hierarchy in Scotland, which his predecessors had for years defended, that the remedy they had hoped for thro' him turned out to be worse than the disease, and in their convivial hours they ridiculed his person and manners, and threw out such pointed jests against him and his country, that instead of being surprized at the risks he ran of losing ground, one would more naturally be surprized that a king should be able to retain his crown
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after he had become the contempt and ridicule of the very people who had invited him to the throne.

WHILE James was yet living, and the parliament he convened at Dublin, had passed acts of forfeiture and attainder against those that opposed him, it is hard for either politicians or casuists to account for the injustice of calling those rebels who only fought for a contested claim. But the greatest proof that on this occasion the catholics were not rebels, is the manner in which William behaved to them, who, while they were in arms against him, conducted the war in the same manner in which he would have done against a foreign foe, and when they laid those arms down, he treated with them on principles of independence and equality.

THE catholics were in a delicate situation, they were exposed to forfeiture and death by their own parliament if they assisted William, and by the English parliament they were subject to the like, if they aided James. Wherefore it was natural in such a situation, that they should

should attach themselves to the cause of James, who was not only their lawful sovereign, but a catholic prince, therefore no candid or judicious person will either stigmatize the catholics of those days with the names of traitors or rebels, as their loyalty to James lead to all their misfortunes.

HOWEVER, the proceedings in Ireland, at this critical period, tend to prove demonstratively, that of all animosity and hatred, the religious is the most lasting and violent, and productive of the most direful and pernicious consequences to the parties themselves, and the welfare of their country. That the contested claims of princes induce the most terrible evils that can befall any nation, is a maxim which can never be too forcibly inculcated, though it seems to be often neglected or misconceived, and notwithstanding England, Ireland and Scotland, have so often suffered, and been duped by ambitious and designing men, and such there always are, who take advantage of, and pretend to be actuated by religious or party zeal. However William, under all these disadvantages kept the diadem he had obtained, and artfully devised means to establish what
force

force could not effect. The city of Limerick having been surrendered, and the wars of Ireland by that means concluded, he at length became master of three kingdoms ; a remarkable æra in the annals of our country.

BEFORE we proceed farther with the affairs of Ireland, it becomes necessary to advert to the plot that was formed in England to deprive William of his three kingdoms at once and to restore the exiled prince to the possession of them.

THE king of France, sensible of the great advantage he should derive from dethroning William, determined now in earnest to keep the promise he had made to James, of endeavouring to land him in England at the head of a large body of forces, that he might avail himself of the discontents which then existed there. James wrote to some of the members of the privy council, and others making liberal offers, and many persons of distinction were prevailed on to adopt a plan proposed for restoring him.

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THE officers were much displeased at the promotion of foreigners among them. The seamen in general retained an affection for their exiled king, who had been often among them, and always proud of distinguishing himself as their friend. The Irish protestants were dissatisfied with the treaty of Limerick, while the Highlanders were incensed beyond measure at the part they well knew William had in the murder of Glenco; and the people of all the three kingdoms complained loudly of enormous taxes and the extravagant expenditure of the public money.

AMIDST these grievances, which no doubt were much exaggerated by prejudices and personal animosity, James and Lewis found it no difficult matter to tamper with some of the leading personages in William's court. In the year 1690 James sent Colonel Bulkeley and Sackville over into England, with proper instructions to discover how far those who had formerly served him now stood affected to his cause.

JAMES endeavoured first to work upon Lord Godolphin but that nobleman was very much
upon

upon the reserve; He next applied to Halifax; that Lord desired him to let Godolphin know his sentiments. upon this it is said Godolphin professed his repentance of his connexions with the new King, and wrote to James accordingly telling his majesty, he would resign his employment of first Lord of the treasury. James in answer desired him not to do any thing so prejudicial to his own interest. Sackville, on his part, endeavoured to win over Marlborough, whose wife's sister was married to Lord Tyrconnel.

THIS nobleman seems, by a strange duplicity, to have promised services he never meant to perform, and made professions he never seriously thought on. He was the first person who gave James's friends in Ireland notice of William's design of going over there, yet by an expedition against Cork and Kinsale, which was voluntarily undertaken by him, he acted as a desperate enemy to his former master's interest; while he ever expressed sentiments of tenderness for that unhappy monarch, and always kept terms with his party. Marlborough now entered into engagements

ments with Sackville, and even wrote to James entreating his and the queen's forgiveness for his offences ; and James was likewise assured that the Princess Anne would be brought back to her duty by Lady Marlborough who had acquired a considerable influence over her. James granted all he asked, but still Marlborough required more. He desired that a power in James's name might be granted him of giving free pardon to all those who had opposed James's interest in the late contest.

JAMES also complied with this request ; on this occasion many played a double part, or stood neuter in expectation of the event. In great Britain and Ireland at this time there appeared to be three distinct parties ; the first was attached to King William, the second to King James, while the third, who were by many accounted the most rational of all, had not in fact so strong an attachment to either of these three princes as they had, to what they conceived ought to be the constitution of their country. Many of these now corresponded with James, not so much
out

but of regard for him, or approbation of his government, as from the expectation of bringing an exiled monarch to make concessions, which William whatever he had professed now seemed averse from yielding to, and to deliver the kingdom from the present enormous burthen of taxes and the ruinous prospect of a civil war in future.

ADMIRALS Ruffel and Carter offered their services to James. Though both these officers were rigid supporters of the liberty of the subject, and for which they strenuously stood, yet the dethroned monarch assured them he would conform to their principles. Princess Ann having been ill treated by her sister, was prevailed on to join this faction, whom it was expected the majority of the church would follow, as they had been highly incensed at the establishment of presbytery in Scotland, and the treatment of the non-juring prelates whom William in his anger had deprived of their sees, and given them to favourites of his own.

THE agent who forwarded these negotiations, was Captain Lloyd, a rough, brave, seaman, strongly attached to James, who ardently wished to promote his restoration.

IN consequence of the communications of this agent, the invasion of England was determined to be effected by a mighty power from France, in the succeeding spring, for which purpose, the French began to equip two fleets, one at Brest, and the other at Toulon, both of which when compleated and united were to be put under the command of Monsieur De Tourville. Twenty thousand land forces, one half of which were Irish were ordered down to the coast of Normandy, and all manner of suitable preparations were made for the proposed expedition.

JAMES's friends, both in England and Scotland, were by no means idle; Lancashire was provided with eight regiments of horse and foot; two regiments of horse were ready in London, and many other parts of the nation were equally inclined for insurrection, although perhaps not equally furnished with
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the means of it. The Highlanders were too mindful of the massacre of Glenco, not to be ready to seize the first opportunity of revenging the injuries done to their country; and in many other parts of that kingdom, James had many staunch friends who were ready to risk their lives and fortunes for his re-establishment.

IRELAND, which William had left an heap of ruins was scarce considered defensible by the lords justices. However as this country was not intended for the scene of action, there seemed to be little danger of the catholics avowing their former sentiments or connexions; for, although their affections were not entirely detached from their old master, yet, however inclined they might be, they were by no means in a condition at present to disturb the new government.

At this time, James addressed a letter to the lords of council in England, inviting them and many ladies of distinction to St. Germain, where the queen being pregnant, he wished they might attend in order to re-

fute the scandal of her barrenness he; also now circulated a declaration formed to induce his former subjects to declare in his favour. He then informed them that with the assistance of his ally the king of France, he would make another effort for the recovery of his crown, yet, notwithstanding such assistance, he did not mean to preclude his good subjects from contributing to his restoration, and that of their ancient constitution. He gave them the strongest assurance that the French troops in his service should be kept under the strictest discipline, and should be sent home, the moment the end for which they came would be accomplished. He said, that on the first arrival of the Prince of Orange in this kingdom, he had chosen rather to rely on the assistance and support of his own countrymen, than on that of the foreign auxiliaries that were so liberally offered him; that when he was in a condition to oppose force with force, he had offered his subjects all reasonable satisfaction. He observed, that when afterwards he saw himself abandoned and betrayed by his own subjects; his army, his ministers, and even his
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own family ; and when he had been forced out of his own palace and compelled to take refuge in France, they had construed this his retreat for security into a neighbouring kingdom, as an abdication of his throne ; and a convention illegally assembled, that had no right to alter the property, even of the poorest subject, had, on that pretence, contrived to annihilate the foundations of the constitution. He added, that it was reasonably to be presumed, that the eyes of the nation were e'er this sufficiently opened to the enormous expences they had recently incurred, a consideration of itself sufficient to evince, that the remedy was worse than the disease ; he wished them also to consider, that even though the usurpation should continue for his natural life, yet his title would survive in his children, and expose the nation to the calamity and horrors of civil war.

ON all these grounds he exhorted and entreated his good subjects to repair to his standard, pursuant as he said to the tenor of their paths and bounden duty ; and under semblance of commanding them not to pay any taxes
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for the support of the usurper, he promised a free pardon to all soldiers, as well as others, who would desert William's service, engaging that they should be paid their arrears, and that the foreign troops on laying down their arms should be also paid, and safely conducted into their respective countries. He protested, that he would maintain the church of England, as by law established, in all its rights, though he expressed his intention of using his influence with parliament, for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects. James, sensible that the English were jealous of their privileges of trade, took care to observe ; that he intended to restore their commerce, by enforcing a due observance of the Navigation Act, which had of late been most shamefully violated, that he would use his best exertions to put the navy on the most respectable footing, and that he would do every thing else to contribute to the happiness and grandeur of the English nation. After all these offers, in conclusion, on his part he declared himself perfectly resigned to the will of Heaven, at the same time reminding his subjects, that
such

such of them as should refuse his offers and appear, in arms against him, after having so fully communicated his intentions ; would certainly be answerable in the sight of Heaven for all the blood that in future would be shed on the occasion. From many circumstances, it is evident, that James promised himself much from this declaration, and had he landed in England at the time he made it, it is probable he would not have been deceived ; for how much soever the parliament and people were disposed to flight his remonstrances, when first he quitted his kingdom ; it is evident from their demeanour afterwards, that the people had in a great measure changed their minds : some because they were disappointed in their expectations of William's government, but a much greater number on account of his partial distribution of places and honours. But what was most singular in this circumstance was, that William in general was abandoned by the Whigs, he thereupon threw himself into the arms of the Tories, and perhaps he did not think himself very secure with either party. How-

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ever by the vigilance, of the ministry the efforts of James's declaration proved in a great measure abortive.

PREPARATIONS were making in England for the reception of the invaders. Orders were issued for all the seamen in the kingdom to offer themselves for the royal service, on pain of incurring punishment, if they refused; and the different ships of war then abroad were immediately ordered home.

A certain number of ships were destined to observe the enemy's motions, and to watch them in their ports and harbours. The old ships were repaired and new ships built, both in England and Holland, and the command of the entire fleet was vested in Admiral Ruffel, notwithstanding the suspicions that had arisen of his correspondence with James, and the repeated intimations that had been given William of the great danger of committing such a power into his hands. The militia was raised all over England, and papists were commanded to remove ten miles from the capital, Scotland was put into a good state of defence

defence, and every effort was used that could possibly tend to the security of Great Britain ; Ireland alone was neglected, most probably for the reason assigned by Dalrymple, namely because it was deemed impossible to secure it.

DURING these transactions, the English court was making to itself enemies at the dearest rate imaginable. Not to mention the imprisonment of Marlborough, the grounds of which we have already related, and that of other noblemen, the Princess Anne, presumptive heir to the throne, who had waved her right of succession in favour of her brother-in-law, had her guards taken from her, and was loaded with every disgrace that her sister durst, and more than in common prudence she ought to have cast upon her. In short the whole kingdom was in such a ferment, that had James once landed in England at the head of his allies, there is little doubt but he would be restored to the crown, while William was abroad wasting the blood of his English subjects in those wars, in which nothing but their connections with him could possibly

possibly have engaged them. However, a variety of accidents completely prevented James from ever making the attempt. The English much alarmed, had made preparations in proportion to the danger, and their fleet being joined by the Dutch, they found themselves in a condition to meet the enemy.

On the, 19th of May, in the year 1692, these two great naval armaments met. Tourville was inferior to the combined fleets in the proportion of fifty to ninety nine, yet resolving to strain every nerve on the occasion, he bore down with great boldness on the enemy. The two Admiral's ships meeting, a bloody engagement ensued, which lasted for an hour and an half, until at length Tourville's ship was so much damaged as obliged her to be towed off, whilst several other French ships closed in to favour the retreat. It was now that the English force prevailed, it was now that the French admiral was sensible of his temerity, in coming to an Engagement he might have avoided, and which was contrary to the opinion of his most experienced officers.

NEVERTHELESS

NEVERTHELESS the action continued all the day, the French maintained a running fight during the afternoon; and at night the English, Dutch and French fleets anchored close to each other off the coast of France. The next morning the French having sustained a considerable damage, four ships were blown up, and many others having deserted them, fled along their own coasts, pursued by the English and Dutch. Tourville's ship and two others took refuge at Cherbourg, eighteen others followed their example near La-Hogue; and several more escaped through the race of Alderney.

A. D. 1692. On the fifth day, Ruffel prepared to destroy such of the enemy's ships as had run a-ground, while the French on the other hand, whose army was drawn up on the shore, raised up platforms mounted with artillery, and used every possible means to defend them; excepting that they had not followed the judicious advice given by king James, who was present, which was, to put a number of regiments on board the vessels that run on shore; an expedient that

that would have proved most likely to have preserved them from the fury of the English, who excited by a spirit of revenge, equal to their former fears, prevailed so far as to reduce the most of them to ashes.

THE exiled king had the mortification to see them destroyed, and with them the best hopes of his restoration. After this, James retired to the monastery of La Trappe, and the English on their return to their country were received with all the applause and reward, which the government conceived to be so justly due to men, who had attained so important a victory.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defeat, many attempts were afterwards made to reinstate this unfortunate family, both by their adherents at home, and their friends abroad, but all proved abortive, and the succession was firmly established in the protestant line upon revolution principles.

SOME may here remark that it was extraordinary that the admirals Russel and Carter, whom we have mentioned as holding a correspondence

respondence with James should so effectually contribute to the destruction of the fleet of his allies ; this, combined with other circumstances, has occasioned some historians to conclude, that their correspondence with James was known to William, and countenanced by him, in order to become possessed of his rival's secrets, however, we do not find that the proofs are sufficient to sanction such a conclusion.

RUSSEL probably joined the malecontents, whose example Carter followed, partly because he was dissatisfied with some of Williams's conduct, and partly because he thought it likely that the nation might procure better terms by the restoration of an exiled prince, than they could expect by supporting one already on the throne. Moreover in the midst of his correspondence with James, he repeatedly cautioned that unfortunate monarch to prevent the English and the French fleet meeting in an hostile manner, declaring that if they did, he would consider it his duty to fire upon the first French ship, even though he should see James himself on the quarter-deck ; at the same time, to evince
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the sincerity of his promises, he proposed that James should delay the meditated invasion, and effect it in his absence, on which account, Ruffel absolutely asked leave of the English government to make a descent upon the coast of France. But James concealed these intimations of Admiral Ruffel from Mon. De Tourville.

TOURVILLE was well informed that a correspondence was carried on between James and Ruffel, yet he was ignorant of those sentiments Ruffel had communicated to James; wherefore he boldly bore down on the English fleet, imagining probably, that his inferiority in point of numbers, would be outbalanced by his chance of being favoured by the British admiral and many of his captains. But Ruffel acting upon the principles already recited, frustrated all his designs, and with a fleet so much superior obtained a complete and absolute victory. Ruffel received such compliments and of so flattering a nature on this victory, that he became for ever attached to William, who perhaps prudently overlooked his intended defection,

fection, when he considered how much he required his present friendship. Indeed it appears scarcely probable that William countenanced the correspondence carried on with James, for although this mode was by no means unnatural to that artful and subtle monarch, yet the concern the court expressed, the many persons of distinction that were seized, the numerous precautions taken, and even the unconstitutional authority exerted at this juncture, may fully incline us to conclude, that William was not privy to such correspondence, though it is possible that when all was over, William affected a mysterious knowledge of many matters he was really ignorant of.

HOWEVER these things were, it is certain the intended invasion filled the kingdom with fears and apprehensions, of which the court itself largely partook. But it ever was the mode of the English to rise superior to past misfortunes ; so when this storm was blown over, every man persuaded himself that he was not frightened nor dismayed. With the failure of this invasion, expired the rational hope of the Irish catholics. They therefore submitted

submitted to a government they hated, and gave William no further disturbance during the remainder of his reign. When James's attempts for the recovery of the crown of his ancestors had been defeated, he led a life of piety and peace, and at length on the 16th day of September, in the year 1700. expired at

St. Germain's.

A. D 1700 In his last illness, he conjured his son to prefer the consideration of religion even to that of a throne. He declared he most sincerely forgave the Prince of Orange and all his enemies. He died with evident marks of resignation and was interred at his own request, without any funeral solemnity, in the church of the English benedictines at Paris.

Thus died a prince who by his own temerity and blind zeal, lost a crown, which he was born to inherit, and which, had he pursued the dictates of sound policy, he might have worn unmolested to his death, and resigned to his successor in peace. Instead of which he bequeathed to his descendants the
shattered

shattered ruins of unsupported royalty, and to his people, the dreadful consequences of a disputed title, which more than once involved them in intestine dissensions, and the terrors of civil war.

A. D. 1701 IN fine, though James was a bad prince, when we consider him as reigning over a free nation, yet he seems to have possessed many of the qualities of a good man, when we view him only as an individual in the private walks of life. William did not long survive him: his constitution being much exhausted; by the advice of his physicians, he accustomed himself to frequent exercise on horse-back; and on the 21st of February, as he was riding from Hampton Court, to Kensington, his horse fell under him, and his collar-bone having received a fracture by the violence of the fall, his attendants conveyed him to Hampton Court, where the fracture was reduced by his surgeon. In the evening, as he returned in his coach to Kensington, the ends of the fractured bone having been disunited by the jolting of the carriage were again replaced by his physician

physician. On the fourth of March, William was so far recovered as to be able to walk in the gallery at Kensington. But, sitting in a coach, he fell asleep, and was afterwards seized with a fever. On the sixth he was so weak, that he could not write, and was obliged to use a stamp to the bills brought for his assent, and two days afterwards expired in the fifty second year of his age, having survived his queen seven years, and being himself survived by his favourite the Duke of Portland.

WILLIAM, was a prince of great coldness and reserve, an utter stranger to the warmer passions and never animated but in the field. He was particularly devoted to the interest of Holland, and was the first king that ever absolutely implicated England in continental connexions. He devised the funding scheme, and consequently became the patron of stock jobbers. He was generally thought to have sacrificed all delicacy and honour, by mounting without scruple the throne of his father-in-law, and accepting a crown which England at first never designed to have conferred on him. On the whole, whatsoever were
his

his good qualities, they were not sufficient to render him easy as a king, nor his subjects collectively happy as a people. Party animosities in his reign were carried to the most extravagant lengths in great Britain and Ireland, and both nations were more than once on the verge of annihilation. At his death he left his dominions involved in fears and doubts which the nature of the succession, however apparently satisfactory to all parties, was by no means equal to remove.

THE constitution of England, in this reign, had assumed indeed a new aspect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right was at length laid aside by a free parliament. The power of the crown was declared to be derived from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people.

ALLEGIANCE and protection, were declared reciprocal ties, and inseparably linked to each other. The representatives of the nation made a formal demand of a declaration of rights in behalf of their constituents; as William III. ascended the throne in consequence

of an express capitulation with the people. Yet on this occasion the zeal of parliament towards the Prince of Orange seems to have superseded their attachment to their own liberty and privileges ; or at least they neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown, to which all the late and former calamities of the nation were ascribed. The new monarch retained the old regal power over parliament, in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue and dissolve them at pleasure. He possessed the right of choosing his own council ; of nominating all the great officers of state, and of the household of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia : so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence ; without any other restraint than his own moderation and prudent regard to the claim of rights, and principle of resistance, on which the revolution was founded. In fine, the settlement was concluded with evident marks of precipitation, before the plan had been fully digested and matured ; and this will be the case in every

every establishment formed upon a sudden emergency in the teeth of opposition. And although the revolution proceeded from a republican spirit, yet the settlement was built upon Tory principles; for the execution of William's government continued still independent of his commission, while his own person remained sacred and inviolable: thus he governed *jure divino* though he was created *jure humano*.

THE convention parliament had recourse to an expedient to give that legal sanction to their proceedings which was supposed to be wanting, as the convention had not been convened by the king's writ of summons, they therefore determined that the Prince of Orange, by virtue of his own authority should change the convention into a parliament, by going to the house of Peers, with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses.

THIS expedient was accordingly put into practice: but it was an experiment attended with an insurmountable absurdity.

If the majority of the convention could not grant a legal sanction to the establishment they had made, they never could invest the Prince of Orange with a just right to ascend the throne ; for they could not give what they did not possess. And if he ascended the throne without a just title, he could have no right to sanctify that assembly, who under such circumstances raised him to such elevation. When the people were obliged by tyranny, or other accidents, to have recourse to the first principles of society, namely, their own preservation in electing a new sovereign ; it will deserve consideration, whether that choice was to be effected by the majority of a parliament which had been dissolved ; indeed by any parliament whatsoever, or by the body of the nation assembled in communities to signify their assent or dissent to the person proposed as their sovereign.

THIS kind of election might be attended with great inconvenience and difficulty, but these cannot possibly be avoided, when the constitution is dissolved, by setting aside the lineal succession to the crown. The constitution

tution is founded on a parliament composed of king, lords, and commons; but when there is no longer a king, the parliament is defective, and the constitution impaired. The commons are the representatives of the people, expressly chosen to maintain the constitution in church and state; and sworn to support the rights of the crown, as well as the liberties of the people: but though they are elected to *maintain*, they have no power to *alter* the constitution. When the king forfeits the allegiance of his subjects, and it becomes necessary to dethrone him; the power of so doing cannot possibly reside in the representatives who are chosen under certain limitations, for the purposes of a legislature, which no longer exists; their power is of course at an end, and they are reduced to a level with other individuals who constitute the community. The right of altering the constitution, therefore, or of deviating from the established practice of inheritance, in regard to the succession of the crown is inherent in the body of the people, and every individual has an equal right to his share in the general determination; whether his opinion be signified *viva voce* or
by

by a representative, whom he appoints and instructs for the purpose. It may be suggested that the Prince of Orange was raised to the throne without any convulsion, or any such difficulties and inconveniences as we have affirmed to be the necessary consequence of a measure of that kind. To this remark we answer, that since the revolution, these kingdoms have been divided, and harrassed by violent and implacable factions, that eagerly seek the destruction of each other; that they have been exposed to plots, conspiracies, insurrections civil wars and successive rebellions, which have not been quelled or defeated without vast effusion of blood, infinite mischief, calamity and expence to the nation; that they were subjected to all those alarms and dangers which are engendered by a disputed title to the throne; and the efforts of an artful pretender; that they are necessarily wedded to the affairs of the continent, and their interest sacrificed to foreign connections, from which they can never be disengaged. Perhaps all these calamities might have been prevented by the interposition of the Prince of Orange. James, without forfeiting the crown, might have been laid

laid under such restrictions as would put it out of his power to tyrannize over his subjects, either in spirituals or temporals. The power of the militia might have been vested in the two houses of parliament, as well as the nomination of persons to fill the great offices of the church and state, and superintend the oeconomy of the administration, in the application of the public money; a law might have passed for annual parliaments, and the king might have been deprived of his power to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at pleasure.

HAD these measures been taken, the king must have been absolutely disabled from employing either force, or corruption in the prosecution of arbitrary designs, and the people would have been fairly represented in a rotation of parliaments, whose power and influence would have been, but of one year's continuance.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

Accession of the Princess Anne.—Great Discontents in Ireland.—The posture of Affairs in England.—The trial of Sacheverel.—Death of Queen Anne.

A. D. 1701. **A**NNE, Princess of Denmark succeeded William in the sovereignty, which in many respects was more limited than formerly, and yet was not altogether such as the Whigs could have wished; however all parties seemed to rejoice at her succession, the Whigs, as they expected new successions from a new sovereign, the Tories because they entertained great hopes from a princess who was a favourer of monarchy, and an avowed defender of the church, a daughter of king James II. and unenslaved to Dutch or Germanic connexions or alliances.

THE moderate party derived their satisfaction from a more rational source, for they anticipated in their minds the glories of a reign, which as yet stands almost unrivalled in
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the British annals. Anne therefore ascended the throne, amidst the acclamations of her subjects, who were disposed to believe her, when she told them from the throne, that there was nothing which they could expect, or desire from her, that she would not be ready to do for their prosperity and happiness. In the year 1703, great discontents broke out in Ireland, which were principally owing to the conduct of the trustees for the forfeited estates. The Duke of Ormond opened the parliament, which was composed of men inimical to the catholics, and ignobly attached to their own private interests, which they attempted to support at the expence of the constitution, and the independence of the country. In the speech which he delivered from the throne, he assured the members of his warm attachment to his native land. But in their addresses to the queen and Duke of Ormond, they complained that they had been misrepresented as, being desirous to render Ireland independant of England, and to vindicate themselves from an aspersion which they said, could only attach itself to the catholics, they declared that they held the kingdom of Ireland to be dependant

dependant on the imperial crown of England. This declaration however incompatible with truth and fact, was no doubt congenial to adventurers, who considered only how they could best secure their late acquired properties, which they thought could never be effectually done, without overturning the undoubted independence of Ireland.

THEY also resolved that the protestant freeholders had been falsely and maliciously traduced in a book, intituled, the report of the commissioners, appointed to enquire into the Irish forfeitures, and they farther resolved, that Francis Ansley, John Trenchard, Henry Longford and James Hamilton, the authors of that book, had scandalously and maliciously misrepresented and traduced the protestant freeholders of Ireland, and had endeavoured to create misconception and jealousy between the people of England and the protestants of Ireland. In consequence of this, Mr. Ansley was expelled the house; as for Hamilton he was dead, and Trenchard retired to England. The commissioners had finished the enquiry relative to the forfeitures, previous to the
meeting

meeting of parliament, and sold at under value the best of the forfeited estates, to a company in England. The parliament neglected a petition of this company, praying to be enabled to make conveyance of lands in Ireland, and John Aſgill their agent, being a member, was expelled, who had offered to lend money on the public credit, provided an act was made to confirm and establish the company's purchase. The Irish parliament then proceeded to enumerate the grievances of the kingdom, they stated the constitution of Ireland had of late been much shook, and that their lives, liberties and properties had been called in question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors ; asserting at the same time, that they had been put to an unnecessary expence by the trustees of the forfeited estates, that exceeded in value the current cash of the nation. That their trade was decayed, and that their manufactures particularly the woollen had been completely ruined by king William, in favour of the British manufactures.

AFTER

AFTER stating these, and many other grievances from which they prayed relief, they voted the necessary supplies, with a large sum of money, to make good former deficiencies. Nevertheless they continued to make a strict scrutiny into many public abuses; and among the rest, they discovered a false charge of one hundred thousand pounds upon the public. They voted a provision for half-pay officers, and abolished as many pensions as amounted to more than sixteen thousand pounds a year.

THEY passed an act for settling the succession to the crown as in England, and a most severe one against catholics, still more rigid than that which had been enacted in England against them. By this act it was ordained, amongst other things, that all estates of catholics should be equally divided among the children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons to whom they were otherwise devised, would qualify themselves by taking the oaths, and conforming to the church of England.

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How far this bill was consonant to the conditions of Limerick is too obvious to remark ; however, it is said, that it was by no means agreeable to the English ministry, who expected large presents from the Irish catholics, by the rejection of it, and a considerable sum was actually raised by the catholics for that purpose. The bill was not rejected, but returned from England with an addition which it was conceived the Irish parliament would never accede to, as it directly militated against the interests of the dissenting protestants who had proved themselves their firmest friends. It was this, that no person in Ireland should be deemed capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy in any city or town corporate, who did not qualify himself by receiving the sacrament pursuant to the test act passed in England.

Although this was a great hardship on the dissenters, yet the Irish parliament sacrificed that consideration, rather than not humble the catholics, so that this illiberal and unconstitutional bill and its amendment were received without scruple, and passed into a law.

AFTER

AFTER this transaction, the Irish parliament proceeded to vote, that a work entitled *Memoirs of the late King James the Second* "was a seditious libel;" ordering it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, and the bookseller and printer to be prosecuted. A member then informed the house that certain disorderly catholics had assembled in the county of Limerick, and plundered some protestants; upon which they immediately in a sudden fit of zeal, resolved that the papists of Ireland, still retained hopes of the accession of the person known by name and title of the Prince of Wales, in the life time of the late king James, and now by that of James the Third. They were thus proceeding, when they were stopped in the midst of their career, and adjourned by the lord lieutenant, against whom, they all inveighed vehemently on adopting so necessary and so truly salutary a measure.

INDEED, it seems evident that severity was by no means calculated to conciliate the catholics, and a seasonable show of indulgence, though

though unimportant in itself, might have prevented many evils, which at times so much prevailed:

MANY Irish catholics have admitted, nay even believed, that king William, though their great enemy, was truly and sincerely disposed to fulfil the articles of the treaty of Limerick, but the same catholics must here consider every restriction since that period imposed upon them, as infractions of that treaty which the government was bound to observe, and also a direct invasion of the rights and liberties granted them under the same.

HENCE arose numerous contentions and broils, and sometimes even insurrections among the populace. People who are ignorant and unlettered, cannot dive into the secrets of cabinets, nor comprehend the policy of nations. Such people cannot conceive why they should be restricted by government for following the worship of their ancestors, and adhering to a church they have been taught to believe infallible. They beheld the introduction

of

of foreigners amongst them with a jealous eye, and considered them as interlopers ; they were devoid of the benefits of education ; without arts, industry, commerce, and manufactures. This being the situation of the populace, what can be expected, but that they should be frequently duped and led astray by artful and designing men, to answer their own particular purposes.

THE state of parties in England, at this period, was such, as completely to have prevented Anne however well inclined she might be, from introducing any measure for the real good or advantage of Ireland. She was in a manner besieged by opposite factions ; and disputes had already got so high in the English parliament, that Anne was afraid of introducing any new subject of either controversy or contention for the parliament, where the Whigs and Tories were on most occasions indefatigable in exposing each other's infamy and folly, to the no small advantage of the public.

It is to be lamented that parties in many of their transactions have paid more regard to political than to moral considerations ; being frequently

frequently obliged to court the populace, they find it expedient to countenance and indulge their caprice and folly, and have even on many occasions, by the propagation of fiction, and the encouragement of violence, contributed to infatuate, as well as to corrupt the people, under the specious garb of liberty and justice. However advantageous the factions of Whig and Tory of that day, might have been to the state, yet they have been extremely injurious to historical truth, as they have established many gross falsehoods, with regard to domestic occurrences, which, tho' they exceed the bounds of vulgar credulity, yet, however surprising, were eagerly embraced by a nation far advanced in civilization. Wherefore extremes of all kinds in parties, ought to be cautiously guarded against, and though no one will ever please either faction by moderate opinions, it is thro' their medium alone we are most likely to elucidate truth:

THE attention of the English parliament was now occupied in determining the measure, which they should pursue, with respect to those ruinous continental concerns, in

which the policy of William had involved them, and which Anne was anxious to continue, particularly as she observed the hearts of the people now set upon them.

It would be endless to recount the blood and treasure expended upon these wars and alliances; yet it must be owned, that never prince carried them on with more judgment glory and success, than Anne did, considering the vast strength of France at that time, and the temper of the other powers, with whom he had to deal. Yet nothing is more true, than that England has often suffered more by her continental connexions, than by her enemies: and this too might here have been the case in the reign of Queen Anne, had she not known how to manage, and when covered with the laurels of victory, had attended to the voice of moderation.

A. D. 1703. THE English court was at this time likewise employed in the affairs of their ally, the Emperor of Germany; whose son the Archduke Charles, had assumed the title of king of Spain, a disputed claim

claim between him and Lewis the XIV's grandson, the former supported by Germany England, and Holland, the latter by France, Bavaria, Cologne, Spain and Savoy.

THE Arch-duke Charles, by a proposed marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, attached that kingdom to his interest ; by which, together with the forces sent him by the court of Vienna, he hoped to be able to expel the Elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But this was not so easily accomplished until the arrival of the Duke of Marlborough, the Elector was then obliged to fly before his victorious arms.

THE Irish parliament met on the fifth of March, 1705, and voted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the support of the necessary branches of the establishment. A dispute arose between the commons and the lower house of convocation, a house that then existed, and was composed of the clergy ; relative to the tithes of hemp and flax, ascertained in a clause of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of Ireland. The lower house of

convocation presented a memorial against this clause, as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The commons voted the person who brought it in, guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered him to be taken into custody; they then resolved, that the convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of privilege of that house. The convocation still presuming to justify their memorial, the commons voted, that all matters relating to it should be rased out of the Journals and books of the convocation.

THE Duke of Ormond, apprehensive of the consequences of such heats, adjourned the parliament to the first day of May, when both houses having met again, came to some resolutions that reflected obliquely on the convocation, as enemies to her majesty's government, and the protestant succession. The clergy, in order to acquit themselves of all suspicion, resolved in their turn, that the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by king William, at the Revolution; that the continuance of these blessings were due, under God, to the auspicious

auspicious reign and happy government of her majesty queen Anne: that the future security and preservation of the church and nation, depended wholly on the succession of the crown, as settled by law in the protestant line: that if any clergyman should by word or writing, declare any thing in opposition to these resolutions, they should look upon him as a promoter of dissensions among the protestants, and an enemy to the constitution. They levelled another resolution against the presbyterians, importing, that to teach, or preach against the doctrine, government, rites or ceremonies of the church, or to maintain schools or seminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to those of the established church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the nation; of pernicious consequences to society, and served only to continue and widen the unhappy schism and divisions which prevailed in the kingdom.

A. D. 1706. IN June the parliament was prorogued to the same month of the following year, and the Duke of

of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the administration in the hands of lords justices.

THE eyes of Anne were now turned upon a transaction of the utmost importance to England, namely an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. This famous treaty was finally concluded and ratified on the twenty second of July; in which it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the name of Great Britain, should be vested in the Princess Sophia, youngest daughter of the king of Bohemia, by Elizabeth daughter of James I. of England and her heirs. According to the acts already passed in the parliament of England, that the united kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament, and that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy an equal participation of privileges and advantages, while Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, by sixteen Peers and forty five commoners. This treaty was eagerly courted by the English Ministry, but proved extremely unpalatable to the gentry of the Scottish nation.

As

As the trial of Doctor Sacheverel occasioned no little noise at this time, it becomes necessary to explain the causes of it.

A. D. 1709. On the 13th of December, Mr. Dolben complained to the house of commons, of two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, as containing positions contrary to revolutionary principles, to the present government, and the protestant succession. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-churchmen, and took all occasions to vent his spleen against the Dissenters. On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation defended the doctrine of non-resistance inveighed against the toleration of Dissenters, declared the church was dangerously attacked by her enemies; and slightly defended by her false friends; he sounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God.

SIR

SIR Samuel Garrard, the lord mayor, countenanced this harangue, which was published under his protection, extolled by the Tories, and dispersed all over the kingdom. Mr. Dolben's complaint against Sacheverel was seconded in the house of commons by several members; the most violent paragraphs were then read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel having being brought to the bar of the house, acknowledged himself the author of both sermons, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord mayor to print that one entitled "The Perils of False Brethren". Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him such encouragement. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the house resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of all the commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody.

THE doctor being impeached at the bar of the house of lords, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail ; but this indulgence was refused, and the commons seemed bent upon prosecuting him with such severity as gave disgust to men of moderate principles. Meanwhile the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church ; and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. These assertions were supported, and even believed by the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers, while emissaries were employed among the populace already prepared with discontent, arising from a scarcity of corn which had prevailed in almost every country in Europe.

THE ministers magnified the dangers to which the church was exposed, from Dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates ; and these they represent as the authors of a destructive war, which in a short time would produce universal famine. The articles against
Sacheverel

Sacheverel having being exhibited, his person was committed to the deputy usher of the black rod ; but the lords afterwards admitted him to bail.

A. D. 1709. THE lords then appointed the 27th of February for his trial in Westminster-hall. The attention of the whole kingdom was directed to this extraordinary trial. It continued three weeks, during which all other business was suspended ; and the queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator ; a vast multitude followed him every day to and from Westminster-Hall, praying for his deliverance as if he had been destined to martyrdom. The queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, " God bless your majesty, and the church, we hope your majesty is for Doctor Sacheverel." They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the Doctor as he passed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged ; and among these some members of parliament, were abused and insulted. They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwellings of eminent Dissenters ; and threatened

threatened to pull down the houses of the chancellor, and the bishop of Sarum. Upon this the queen published a proclamation for suppressing the tumult, and several persons were apprehended, and afterwards tried for high treason. When Sacheverel's council had finished his defence, he himself recited a speech, wherein he solemnly justified his attachments to the queen and her government, and spoke in most respectful terms of the revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance in all cases whatsoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and by many pathetic expressions endeavoured to excite the compassion of the audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favoured by the queen herself; who could not but relish a doctrine so well calculated for the support of regal authority.

AFTER virulent disputes and altercations, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of
17 voices;

17 voices; and 34 entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years, and his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the lord mayor and two sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

THE lenity of this sentence passed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great measure owing to the apprehension of popular resentment, his friends considered, as a victory gained over a Whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations.

A. D. 1710 THE effects of those intrigues which had been exerted against the Whig ministers began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel, had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favoured the dissenters. From all parts addresses were presented to the queen, concerning the doctrine of resistance, as rebellious and founded upon an-timonarchial and republican principles.

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At the same time counter addresses were procured by the Whigs, extolling the revolution and applauding the conduct of the present parliament.

THE queen began to express her attachment to the Tories, and in a short time there was not one Whig left in any office, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had he not been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends, from taking a step which would have been prejudicial to the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the queen dissolved the Whig parliament, after such precautions were taken, as could not fail to influence the new elections in favour of the other party. In the Irish parliament held, during the summer, the Duke of Ormond and the majority of the peers, supported the Tory interest, while the commons expressed the warmest attachment to revolution principles.

THE two houses made strenuous representations, and passed severe resolutions against each other. After the session, Sir Constantine Phipps, the chancellor, and general Ingoldsby, were

were appointed justices, in the absence of the Duke of Ormond. For some time the Tory ministers in England, were carrying on a negotiation with the court of France; they had a double view in it, namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, whom they detested, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution. However the proposals of peace made by the French king, were disagreeable even to some individuals of the Tory party, and certain peers, who had hitherto adhered to that interest, agreed with the Whigs, to make a remonstrance against the preliminary articles.

THE court having been apprized of their intentions, prorogued the parliament till the 7th day of December, in expectation of the Scottish peers, who would cast the balance in favour of the ministry. At the opening of the session, Anne, in her speech, informed them, that notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congress; and that the states general had expressed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief concern

cern should be to secure the succession of the crown, in the House of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation, which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people; and to obtain satisfaction for all her allies. She observed that the most effectual way to procure peace, would be, to make vigorous preparations for carrying on the war. many insinuations were levelled at the duke of Marlborough, amongst others, that he had prolonged the war for the sake of his own private interest alone: upon which occasion he declared on his conscience, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace, and that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private emolument, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. Some time after, the commissioners for examining the public accounts, having discovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from the contractors, for supplying the army with bread, the queen declared in council, that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, pre-

paratory to an impartial examination of the charge. This declaration was imparted to the duke in a letter from the queen, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received—she probably alluded to the insolence of his dutchefs, the subjection she had been kept in by the late ministry; and the pains earnestly taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct and thwart her measures with respect to peace. The duke wrote an answer to her majesty, vindicating himself against the aspersions on his character.

A. D. 1711. At length a peace was concluded and ratified at Utrecht, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the Whigs in general, and the Duke of Marlborough in particular, who found his account in the continuance of the war. 'Tis to be lamented, that the discovery of many mean and mercenary practices, greatly tarnished the glory which the duke had acquired by his great military talents, and other shining qualities.

The Duke of Ormond having been appointed to take the command of the British forces in Flanders.

Flanders; The Duke of Shrewsbury was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He assembled the Irish Parliament on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two houses still at variance on the opposite principles of Whig and Tory. Allen Broderick being chosen speaker of the commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in to attain the Pretender and all his adherents. They prosecuted Edward Lloyd, for publishing a book intitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier De St. George;" and they agreed upon an address to the queen, to remove from the chancellorship Sir Constantine Phipps, for the countenance he had shewn the Tories. The lords however had resolved, that Chancellor Phipps, in his several stations, had acquitted himself with honour and integrity. The two houses of convocation presented an address to the same effect.

A. D. 1712. THE Duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue this parliament which was divided against itself, and portended nothing but domestic broils, then he obtained leave to return to England

leaving Chancellor Phipps with the archbishop of Armagh and Tuam, Justices of the kingdom. In this reign Dr. Jonathan Swift rose into great consideration in Ireland, and by his great abilities and patriotic principles became the chief patron of the Irish nation.

On the first day of August, 1714, died Anne queen of England in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. Her capacity was naturally good; but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, nor of personal ambition. She was undoubtedly deficient in that vigour of mind necessary to enable her to support herself independent of the influence of favourites and to avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants: but whatever her weakness in these respects might have been, the goodness of her heart was never doubted. She was justly distinguished for conjugal affection and fidelity, she was a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful princess, during whose reign no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was firmly attached to
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the Church of England from conviction rather than from prepossession, being unaffectedly pious, just, charitable and compassionate. If she was not the greatest, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished of sovereigns ; and well merited the expressive, though simple epithet of " the good queen Anne."

C H A P. VI.

Accession of George I.—Tories totally excluded the Royal Favour—Pretender's Manifesto—Resolutions to impeach the Duke of Ormond—The Duke of Ormond and Lord Belingbroke attainted.—Intended Invasion by the Duke of Ormond—The Rebellion in Scotland under the Earl of Mar—Bill for securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great-Britain.—Declaration of the Pretender.—Clamour in Ireland on Account of Woods's Coinage—Death of George I.—His Character—Accession of George II.—Characters of his Ministry—Character of Sir Robert Walpole—He proposes the Excise Scheme.

A. D. 1714. **T**HE queen had no sooner expired, than orders were immediately issued to proclaim for king, in England, Scotland and Ireland, George, Elector of Hanover. The regency appointed the Earl of Dorset, to convey to the king at Hanover the intimation of his majesty's accession, and to attend him on his journey.

GEORGE

GEORGE II. ascended the throne in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the least opposition, tumult or indication of popular discontent; and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully persuaded that no design was ever concerted by queen Anne and her ministry in favour of the Pretender. On the twentieth of September, 1714, king George landed at Greenwich. From the landing place to his house in St. James's park, he walked, accompanied by a great many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honour to kiss his hand, as they approached. At night he sent for those of the nobility who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession : but the duke of Ormond, Oxford, the lord chancellor and lord Trevor were not of the number. The next morning the earl of Oxford presented himself, but was very coldly received ; on the other hand, his majesty expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

It was the misfortune of this prince, as well as a great injury to the empire, that he had
been

been led to conceive strong prejudices against the Tories, who constituted such a considerable body of his subjects.

THEY were now excluded from all share of the royal favour, which was totally engrossed by their opponents : these early marks of his aversion, which he took no pains to conceal, alienated the affections of many from his government and person, who otherwise would have served him with fidelity and regard. The duke of Ormond was instantly dismissed from his command, which was restored to the Duke of Marlborough, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland.

AN almost instantaneous change was effected in all the official departments of the state. In a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. On the twentieth of October, George I. was crowned at Westminster, with the usual solemnity, at which the Earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke assisted. In the mean time, the malcontents were considerably increased in England by the king's attachment to the Whig
faction

faction. The old clamour respecting the danger of the church was revived ; jealousies were excited, seditious libels were dispersed ; and dangerous tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom. Many gentlemen of the Whig faction were abused ; magistrates were reviled and insulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The Pretender seized this opportunity to transmit by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto to the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction. In this declaration, he mentioned the good intentions of his sister towards him, which were prevented by her lamented death. He observed that his people instead of doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontestible laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement could never abrogate. Shortly after, the parliament resolved to trace out those measures which had been taken in England by the Pretender's adherents, and whereon he built his hopes ; and to bring the author's of them to condign punishment.

ON

A. D. 1715. ON the twenty first of June, Mr. secretary Stanhope, impeached James Duke of Ormond, of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours with regard to the peace at Utrecht. Many members spoke in favour of the Duke; they expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; they enumerated the services performed by him for the crown and the nation, they observed that in the whole course of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the queen's commands; and they affirmed that all the allegations against him, could not in the rigour of the law, be construed into high-treason. But all arguments and eloquence were lost upon the Whigs, and the question being put was carried for the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted his own safety, by withdrawing himself from the kingdom.

SHORTLY after a bill passed both houses of the British Parliament, and received the royal assent for attainting the Duke of Ormond and Lord

Lord Bollingbroke if they did not surrender themselves in a limited time ; and they having omitted to surrender pursuant to the time specified in the bill ; the house of lords ordered the Earl Marshal to rase out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates ; and the Duke's atchievment, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

A MAN of sensibility and candour cannot, without an emotion of sorrow and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman ; to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the commands of his sovereign. The duke of Ormond, and lord Bolingbroke retired into France and were driven by hard usage, and resentment into a system of politics which otherwise they would not have espoused.

FINDING themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, they engaged in the service of the Pretender, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

A. D. 1715 THE Tories of Great Britain being totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began now to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier De St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the Pretender that the nation was entirely disaffected to the new government; and indeed the clamours, tumults and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms without farther delay in his favour; and engaged that the Tories should join them at his first landing in Great Britain. They therefore besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution.

THE Chevalier resolved to take advantage of this favourable disposition; and made preparations accordingly. However all these intrigues

trigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the British Court, by the Earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He detected the Chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early intimation of it, as enabled King George to take effectual measures for defeating the design. But the partizans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and therefore determined to try their fortune in the field. Having chosen Scotland for the scene of action, they assembled there, under the command of the Earl of Mar, and after proclaiming the Pretender in that kingdom, they erected his standard on the sixth of September.

IN the ninth of October the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field in England and proclaimed the Pretender. But Forster was furrounded at Preston and taken by surprize. The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston in England was remarkable for the battle of Dunblaine in Scotland, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar, who commanded the Pretender's

der's forces. The earl of Mar would have probably obtained the victory, had not his troops been too eager in the pursuit of that part of the royal army, which they had broken; but on this account it proved a drawn battle, and the Highlanders seeing no probability of coming again to action, soon after dispersed and returned to their own habitations. Afterwards the Pretender came over to Scotland, from whence he was repulsed by the Duke of Argyle, and at last effected his escape to the continent in a small French vessel accompanied by the Earl of Mar, and many more of his adherents. In the meantime, the gaols in Great Britain were filled with such of his party, as had been apprehended. The Earls of Derwentwater, Kenmore and Wintoun were beheaded on Tower Hill, and many of inferior rank were executed at Tyburn. But Forster and many others made their escape from Newgate, and saved themselves by flight from an ignominious and disgraceful end.

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A. D. 1715. THE Duke of Ormond had previously made an unsuccessful and fruitless attempt in the west of England in favour of the Chevalier. Thus terminated a rebellion which proved fatal to many noble families; a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent as encouraged the partisans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt. During all this time we hear of no commotion nor insurrection in Ireland.

THE parliament of Ireland met on the 12th of November, and seemed even more zealous if possible, than that of England for the present administration. They passed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price on the Pretender's head; and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All those of the Tory party who had addressed the late queen in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, whom

whom the Whigs wished to turn out, were now brought on their knees and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege.

A. D. 1715. THEY desired the lords justices would issue a proclamation against the catholic inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who in virtue of the capitulation signed by king William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other papists. They engaged in an association against the pretender and all his abettors.

THEY voted the Earl of Anglesey an enemy to the king and kingdom, because he advised the queen to disband the army, and to prorogue the late parliament; and they addressed the king to remove him from his council and service.

THE lords justices granted orders for apprehending the Earls of Antrim and Westmeath, and the Lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons suspected of disaffection to his majesty's person and government. There seemed to be no cause for such severity at the
time

time, for although Great Britain was embroiled, Ireland actually enjoyed peace and tranquility. But this was a period when blind zeal and the spirit of party raged uncontrouled, and when men's minds were full of fear and jealousies ; when a beloved sovereign had descended to the shades, and the crown appeared to totter on the head of her successor. However these considerations by no means warranted the violation of the treaty of Limerick, nor many other transactions of a similar kind which took place during this reign. Yet our wonder ceases, when we reflect that this was a crisis in which justice and equity were little regarded and the solemn faith of nation was audaciously and wantonly violated and condemned.

AMONGST these disputed convulsions, the English parliament passed an act for attaching the dependency of Ireland upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, and this act, known by the name of the sixth of George I. was made, for the purpose of enabling the British parliament to make laws to bind the people of Ireland, an act derogatory to the true honour of Great Britain as it was injurious to this

kingdom, as a free and independent nation. This unjust law, was followed by another transaction of a similar tyrannic cast, by which Great Britain robbed! our house of lords of the right of appeal from our courts of judicature. It was effected at the instance of Maurice Annesley an Irish gentleman, who had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland, which the British peers reversed, and ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had been deprived of by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order, and the Irish house of Lords passed a vote against the barons, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative, in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof; they likewise ordered the barons to be taken into custody of the usher of the black rod; they transmitted a long representation to the king, demonstrating their right to the final judicature in this kingdom, and the Duke of Leeds strenuously supported their cause by unanswerable arguments in the British house of lords.

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A. D. 1719. NOTWITHSTANDING these arguments, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, also conformable to law in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain.

THEY addressed the king to confer on them some marks of his royal favour, as a recompence for the ill usage they had undergone. At length they proposed a bill, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom. In the house of commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt and others, on the grounds of being a palpable infringement on the rights of the Irish peers and a direct violation of the constitution of Ireland. However the bill was carried and received the royal assent. This perhaps was as great and daring an act of usurpation and injustice as ever was attempted, in any the most arbitrary and despotic reign, and cannot be defended by the boldest advocate for oppression, on any

principle save, only that tyrannic one, *that power constitutes right*.—On the opening of the English parliament in October, 1722, the king observed, that the adherents of the Pretender, were once more determined to attempt the subversion of his government. He expatiated upon the mildness and integrity of his own government, and inveighed against the ingratitude, implacability, and madness of the disaffected; concluding with an assurance, that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws of the realm, the rule and measure of all his actions. Such addresses were presented by both houses, as the fears and attachment of the majority, may be supposed to have dictated on such occasion. A bill was brought into the house of lords, for suspending the Habeas Corpus act for a whole year; but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time.

A. D. 1722. By this suspension, the English peers in effect invested the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the nation. The opposition to
this

this bill in the house of commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the bank and exchequer, and to proclaim the Pretender on the royal exchange. Their passions having been inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, the commons passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. On the sixteenth day of November, his Majesty sent to the house of lords, the original printed copy of a declaration, signed by the Pretender—It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth of September, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states.

A. D. 1722. In this paper, the Chevalier having mentioned the late violation of the freedom of elections; conspiracies invented to give a colour to new oppression; infamous informers; and the state of proscription in which he reasonably presumed every honest man to be; very gravely proposed, that if King George would relinquish

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to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return, confer upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and solicit all other states to confirm it: the Chevalier likewise promised to leave king George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever in due course his natural right should take place. Both houses unanimously resolved that this declaration was a false, insolent, and traiterous libel: and assured his majesty they were determined to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes.

THE commons prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds a year, upon the real and personal estates of all papists, or persons educated in the popish religion, towards defraying the expences occasioned by the late rebellion and disorder. It passed the upper house of parliament without amendment, and was stamped with the royal sanction. This bill must evidently appear in the eyes of all moderate men to be a species of persecution, and on that principle was opposed by many members of the house of peers.

KING

KING George concluded treaties with almost every prince and state in Europe, and they succeeded each other so rapidly, and appeared at first view so intricate and difficult, that they can only be accounted for on these principles, namely, that of ascertaining his acquisitions as Elector of Hanover, and his resolution to secure himself against the disaffection of his British subjects, as well as the efforts of the Pretender. Great Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquillity.

IRELAND was a little ruffled by an incident which seemed to have been misrepresented to the Irish. William Wood had obtained a patent for furnishing Ireland with Copper currency, in which it was reported to have been deficient. A great clamour was raised against this coin.

The Irish parliament which met in September, resolved, that it would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject; that the patent had been granted on misrepresentation; that the halfpence would be found
deficient

deficient in weight: that even if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loss to the nation; that granting the power of coinage to a private person, had ever been prejudicial to the kingdom, and would at all times be of dangerous consequence. Addresseees from both houses were presented to the king on this subject. The affair was referred to the lords of the privy council in England; they justified the conduct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Isaac Newton, and other officers of the mint, who made the assay of Wood's halfpence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared that this currency exceeded in quality and quantity, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of king Charles II.—James II.—and William and Mary.

A. D: 1723. THE privy council, likewise, demonstrated, that his majesty's predecessors, had always exercised the undoubted prerogative of granting patents in Ireland to private persons; that none of these

these patents had been so beneficial to the kingdom, as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and solicitor general, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in every particular: finally, they proved by a number of witnesses, that there was a real want of such money in Ireland. Notwithstanding this decision, the ferment was kept up in Ireland, particularly by the writings of the celebrated Dean Swift, and some other authors—So that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage, from the value of one hundred thousand, to that of forty thousand pounds. Thus, the noise was silenced. The commons of Ireland at this time, passed an act for accepting the affirmation of the quakers instead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thousand pounds, towards discharging the debts of the nation, which amounted to about double that sum.

To put the public debts of the nation into a method of being speedily and gradually paid, has been the repeated theory of patriotism,

ism, but unhappily for the subjects has never been reduced to practice. Ireland at this time was quite barren of such events, as deserve a place in history. The government was firmly established, and peace and tranquillity perfectly restored.

A. D. 1724 **GEORGE** the I. after a reign of near thirteen years, was seized with a paralytic disorder on the road to Hanover; he lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnabruck. There he expired on Sunday the 11th of June in the year 1727, in the sixty eighth year of his age.

GEORGE the I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great Britain he had acquired a character of a good general, and a wise prince, who perfectly understood and steadily pursued his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern

govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution and the genius of the people ; and whenever he deviated from these principles, we may take it for granted that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry, whose power and influence were founded on corruption. For whenever the ministry wanted to carry any measure, they rang the changes upon a few words, that have been repeated ever since like cabalistical sounds, by which the nation was enchanted into a dangerous connexion with the concerns of the continent. They harangued, they insisted upon the machinations of the disaffected, the designs of a popish Pretender, the Protestant interest, and the balance of power, until these expressions became absolutely terms of ridicule with every man of common sense and reflection.

A. D. 1727, GEORGE the I. was too partial to a particular party among his subjects, and treated another with such severity as occasioned him many troubles, and
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was the cause of this reign having been stained by some scenes of blood which were unknown to that of Queen Anne. In the reign of George the I. the commerce of England flourished even under a load of grievous imposition. But the manufactures of Ireland, particularly the woollen, were verging to decay, owing to that monopolizing disposition, which has been so apparent, in the conduct of the sister country, on too many occasions. The linen manufacture indeed, in the North of Ireland, was encreasing rapidly ; and the more so, as it did not interfere with any similar manufacture in Great Britain. For it is a truth that, candour requires should be declared, that the selfish policy, the illiberal and narrow principles of the commercial interests of the sister nation, had depressed two long, the trade commerce and manufactures of Ireland.

FROM the death of Charles II. to that of George I. considerable improvements took place in every branch of literature. Doctors Atterbury and Clarke distinguished themselves in divinity. John Locke shone forth the great restorer

restorer of human reason. The Earl of Shaftsbury raised an elegant, though feeble, system of moral philosophy. Berkely Lord bishop of Cloyne, exceeded all his contemporaries in subtilty and variety of metaphysical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction. Wallis, Halley, and Flamsteed made great progress in the mathematics and astronomy. But in those sciences Sir Isaac Newton eclipsed them all.

WILLIAM CONGREVE distinguished himself for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance and regularity. Steele in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the ancient drama. Farquhar drew his pictures from fancy, rather than from nature, and his merit chiefly consists in the agreeable portness and vivacity of his dialogue. The fame of Addison as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate, but he yielded to none in the character of an essayist either for style or matter. Swift whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy, was a cynic rather than a poet, and his natural dryness and sarcastic

castic severity would have been disagreeable, had he not qualified them by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais. Prior was lively, familiar and amusing. Rowe was solemn florid and declamatory. Pope was the prince of lyric poetry, he was unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification. Parnell was agreeable. Garth wild witty and whimsical. Gay's fables may vie with those of La Fontaine, in native humour, ease, and simplicity; his genius for pastoral was truly original. Doctor Bentley stood foremost in the list of critics and commentators. The most remarkable political writers were, Davenant, Hore, Molineaux, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

It is to be lamented that princes in general are so careless in their temper, or so little endowed with the virtue of liberality, that they have allowed many authors of virtue and probity, to live in obscurity and die in want, and men of the greatest merit, aided by the most powerful abilities and genius, have been necessitated to write for bread. Craving courtiers, parasites and sycophants surround princes

ees and courts, and engrofs that expence, which would be much better bestowed on the encouragement of literary merit.

LEWIS XIV. conferred pensions on learned men throughout all Europe; his academies were directed by rules and supported by salaries. A generosity which does great honour to his memory, and in the eyes of all the ingenious part of mankind will be esteemed an atonement for many of the errors of his reign. We may be surpris'd, that this example should not be more followed by princes; since it is certain that this bounty so extensive, so beneficial, and so much celebrated, cost not that monarch so great a sum as is often conferred on one single, useless overgrown favourite or courtier.

A. D. 1727. At the accession of George the Second, the English nation had great cause to wish for an alteration of measures. The public debt, notwithstanding the boasted oeconomy and management of the ministers, was now increased to fifty millions, two hundred and sixty one thousand,

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two hundred and six pounds. The nation was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it stood engaged to pay subsidies to many continental powers, with whom its real interest could never be connected.

THE wealth of the nation had been lavished upon these foreign connexions; upon unnecessary wars, and unsuccessful expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the constitution; by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments; by frequent suspensions of the *habeas corpus* act, upon frivolous occasions; by repealing clauses in the act of settlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a standing army; and above all, by establishing a system of corruption, which at all times would secure a majority in parliament. The nature of prerogative was now so well understood, and so securely limited and restrained, that it could no longer be used for the same oppressive purposes as formerly; and an avowed extension of the prerogative was too bold a measure for either the courage
or

or resolution of the present ministry to exert. They knew their own strength, and had recourse to a more certain and effectual expedient.

THE vice, luxury, and prostitution of the age; the almost total extinction of sentiment, honour, and public spirit; had prepared the minds of men for slavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the ministry; the public treasure was at their devotion; they multiplied places and pensions to encrease the number of their creatures: they lavished the money of the nation without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse; they enlisted an army of the most abandoned mercenaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty: and they did not fail to stigmatize as Jacobites and enemies to the government, all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration.

AN express arriving on the fourteenth of June, with an account of the king's death,

VOL. I.

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King

King George, the Second, repaired from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leicester-house; and the members of the privy council being assembled, were sworn anew. His majesty declared his firm determination to maintain and preserve the constitution in church and state, and 'to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. On the next day he was proclaimed king of Great Britain. All the great officers of state continued in their places. Sir Robert Walpole, kept possession of the treasury, and the system of politics, which the late king had established, underwent no sort of alteration. Ireland at the commencement of this reign found herself happy under the government of Lord Carteret. The parliament that assembled in the month of September, 1729, approved themselves the fathers of their country; for in some time after this session, which was both conducted and concluded with so much harmony and patriotism, they established funds for the discharge of the public debts, and for supporting the expences of government: they enacted salutary laws, for the
encouragement

encouragement of manufactures, trade and agriculture; they also formed many wise regulations in different branches of civil oeconomy. Lord Carteret returned to Great Britain; and was succeeded by the Duke of Dorset. Lord Carteret, by a mild and moderate government, made the Irish happy and contented; he checked and restrained the most designing and artful part of the nation, and soothed the most violent. He controled prodigality, and encouraged industry; he promoted the commerce, and gave spirit to the drooping manufactures of the country; he was frugal of the public money and hostile to venality and corruption. By such conduct, Lord Carteret, has transmitted to posterity, in the faithful register of Irish gratitude, a name that must be revered for its wisdom, its virtue, and its philanthropy. The administration of Lord Carteret, proves that a chief governor of Ireland, may at the same time serve and promote the interest of the crown, and conciliate the affections and esteem of the people.

A. D. 1729 THE history of Ireland, for some time subsequent to this period, is no way interesting nor remarkable for events of any great moment or importance ; while Great Britain was engaged in an annual revolution of debates in parliament, debates in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. At this period, the interior government of Great Britain was conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, a man of extraordinary talents, who from low beginnings, raised himself to the head of the treasury. He was endowed with a species of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was so plausible on all subjects, that even when he misrepresented the truth, whether from ignorance or design ; he rarely failed to persuade that part of his audience, for whose hearing his speech was particularly intended. He was an avowed enemy to the Tory party. He was moreover intimately acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and well understood the whole mystery of stock jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion

nexion between him and the money-corporations, which served to enhance his importance.

A. D. 1732. He perceived the bulk of mankind was attached by a fordid thirst of lucre, and he had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage and emolument; and on this, and this alone, he founded the entire superstructure of his administration. His influence was such, that all objections vanished before his unbounded power, which nothing but the immediate danger of popular commotion could possibly check.

SUCH interposition once actually defeated the famous excise scheme, which had been vigorously adopted by Walpole. The excise system Walpole introduced on the principle of preventing numerous frauds and perjuries, whereby the public revenue was very considerably injured, and the fair trader ruined. But the measure of a general excise was opposed, on the grounds that it would prove destructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberty of the subject. It was
wisely

wisely suggested, that it would be productive of a swarm of excise officers, appointed and paid by the crown, consequently dependent on it, and by which it would still be enabled to make further strides in influencing the freedom of elections. Had Walpole on this occasion nothing to encounter, but the opposition within doors, he would have undoubtedly carried his scheme into effect; but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly against the bill. The populace blocked up all the avenues to the house of commons, and even insulted the persons of those members who were known to favour the excise scheme. Sir Robert Walpole at length began to be in fear of his life, and postponed the bill. The miscarriage of this bill was celebrated with public rejoicings, in London and Westminster; and the minister was burnt in effigy by the populace. The subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities of both sides of the house to the most powerful exertions, was a bill introduced for the repeal of the Septennial Act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliament. It was asserted that the septennial law, was an encroachment

encroachment on the rights of the people; a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial.

A. D. 1733. THE ministry challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people since the septennial act took place: and they defied the most ingenious and refined malice to prove, that his present majesty had ever attempted to extend the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. On the other side, it was maintained, that the law relative to treason was materially changed since that period; that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes were alledged to have been committed; but by an act of a septennial parliament he might be removed and tried any where that either the crown or minister pleased. It was asked if the riot act had not been an encroachment on the rights of the people. An act by which a little insignificant justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, who perhaps subsists by his being in
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the commission, and may be deprived of that subsistence at the pleasure of his patron, had it in his power to put a number of the best subjects in the kingdom to death, without any trial or form, but that of reading a proclamation. However, notwithstanding the most warm, the most nervous and the most pathetic strains of eloquence in favour of the bill, it was suppressed by a corrupt majority of Walpole's creatures.

In the session of 1735, a petition was presented to the house of commons of Ireland, by Benjamin Copland and others, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the farmers, graziers of Ireland, setting forth, "that several
" of the petitioners have been of late, and
" now are, sued for the tithes of the agistment
" of dry and barren cattle, notwithstanding
" that according to the best information they
" have had, no such tithes have been ever
" paid, or even demanded in this kingdom
" until a few years since, and praying relief,
" therein."

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A committee of thirty seven members was then appointed to examine the allegations of the said petition, and to report their proceedings and opinion thereon. The committee resolved, that the petitioners had proved the allegations of their petition, to the satisfaction of the committee. The house accordingly ordered, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill for ascertaining the tithe of herbage, or agistment of dry and barren cattle in Ireland, and settling the methods of recovering the same. By this it fully appears, that it was the decided sense of the house of commons, that the tithe of agistment was a legal and existing part of the property of the clergy of Ireland at that period. We have not been able to discover whether any such heads of a bill were introduced; but certain it is, no such bill passed. However the opposers of the clergy seemed aware, that the petition and order above recited were rather too favourable to their claim of agistment tithe, and probably declined to bring in the bill, which, according to the tenor of the order, would have recognized the title of the clergy.

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THE enemies of the agistment tithe took new ground for their attack, and on the fifth of March, 1735, a petition of Samuel Law, and other gentlemen and landholders of the county of Meath, was presented to the house, setting forth, "that the clergy in the several parts where the petitioners dwell, have commenced and threaten to commence suits for *a new kind of tithe*, under the name of agistment of dry and barren cattle grievous to the petitioners and praying relief." On this petition a committee of thirty seven members was appointed, and on the 17th of March, the report of the committee and their resolutions thereon were laid before the house. The resolution was as follows: "resolved, that the petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their petition, to the satisfaction of the committee, and deserve the strongest assistance the house can give them."

THE house agreed to this resolution and resolved, that the allotments, glebes, and known tithes, with other ecclesiastical emoluments, ascertained before this new (which they ignorantly called so) demand of tithe of agistment

ment for dry and barren cattle, are an honourable and plentiful provision for the clergy of Ireland.

It was also resolved, that the demand of the tithe of agistment, was grievous and burthen-some to both landlords and tenants. And a motion was put and carried, that the commencing suits upon these demands, must impair the protestant interest, by driving many useful hands out of the kingdom, and occasion popery and infidelity to gain ground by the contests which would necessarily arise between the laity and clergy. This business was then concluded by this resolution. "Resolved, " that all legal ways and means ought to be " made use of, to oppose all attempts that shall " hereafter be framed to carry demands of " agistment tithe into execution, until a proper " remedy can be provided by the legislature."

It surely was an extraordinary doctrine, to call the tythe of agistment a new demand, as nothing can be more certain, or better established in law, than that the tithe of agistment is due by the common law, as indisputably

as the tithe of hay or corn. Corrupt as those days were, the members must have known that an expressed opinion of that house could not change the laws of the land, or deprive a whole body of men, an integral part of the state, of their legal property. If it were not their property, the courts of justice would soon pronounce the law against them. The clergy were intimidated by this resolution from a prosecution of their just rights, as no clergyman has been found bold enough, to give the law of the land an opportunity of struggling with an half expressed opinion of one house of parliament. As the resolution is not grounded on law, let us examine if it was founded on sound policy, or on the real interests of the country.

No man who has read a page in history, and who has looked round him, and contemplated the habits, arts, and manners of the living world, can for an instant entertain a doubt but tillage is preferable to pasturage, a mode of occupying the soil, which enriches the few and starves the many, which converts the most delightful plains of Ireland, into silent forlorn,
and

and desolate waste ; which nips population, industry and national prosperity in the bud, by preventing the means of earning an honest subsistence by useful labour. Pasturage, when too far extended, necessarily produces all these evils.

Thus, by this impolitic resolution, the subsistence of the clergy was in future to be confined to that species of land which ought least to be burthened, and to that class of people, which in sound policy, should be most effectually encouraged and supported. Thus a bounty was granted to extend the propagation of a national evil, while the real cultivator of the soil should repine at an incumbrance, though sanctioned by law, from which intrigue, influence, and the selfishness of interested men in power, had relieved his indolent and desolating neighbours.

C H A P. VII.

Violent debate on the Motion, introduced into the British Parliament, for a Settlement on the Prince of Wales—Rebellion excited by the young Pretender—His total defeat by the Duke of Cumberland—Peace of Aix la Chapelle—Death of the Prince of Wales—An Act for changing the old Style—Disputes in the Irish Parliament—Earthquake at Lisbon—Death of Admiral Byng—Attempt of Damien on the French King—Proceedings in Ireland—The Resolutions of the Irish Parliament—Thurot's Design of landing in Ireland frustrated.

A. D. 1736. **I**N the British Parliament Mr. Pulteney introduced a motion, for to address his majesty to settle one hundred thousand pounds a year, on the Prince of Wales. He represented that such a settlement was both reasonable and necessary, to maintain the independency of the heir apparent to the crown, and that a similar one had been enjoyed by his present majesty, during the life of his father.

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THIS motion was the subject of no small contention ; and was strenuously opposed by Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative ; as an officious intermeddling in the king's affairs, and as an effort to set his majesty and the prince at variance. But a misunderstanding had already taken place in the royal family.

WALPOLE informed the house, that his majesty, in order to prevent any bad consequences that might result from any undutiful measure, the prince might be advised to pursue ; would settle a suitable jointure on the Princess of Wales ; and that in order to render the prince's allowance of fifty thousand pounds a year, less precarious, he would grant to the Prince of Wales, the said fifty thousand pounds a year during his own life, exclusive of the prince's revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall. Walpole endeavoured to demonstrate that this provision was as much as the king could afford for the prince's support and maintenance ; and he largely expatiated on the dangerous consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father.

THE

THE supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance was totally inadequate to defray the prince's yearly expence, without one shilling for acts of either charity or munificence; but after a warm and long debate, the motion was rejected.

WHILE the continent of Europe, and the isles of America, were exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to the vicissitudes of fortune, Great Britain was threatened with a dangerous convulsion in the internal departments of the state. The son of the Chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to make an effort for that purpose. The time he chose for exciting an intestine commotion in Great Britain, was extremely favourable to his views.

A. D. 1745. Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops, and in many places disaffected; the Jacobites were numerous in England; King George was in Germany; and the Duke of Cumberland at the head of the English army was employed in

in Flanders. At this juncture, the young Pretender landed in Scotland, but without either money or forces ; however, in a short time, he was joined by a considerable number of Highlanders, under their respective chiefs. England was now completely alarmed.

THE lords of the regency issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds, to any person who should apprehend the Prince adventurer ; and a courier was dispatched to Holland, to hasten the return of his majesty, who arrived in England about the end August, in this year. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places ; associations were formed, and large contributions were raised in different towns, counties and communities, and the most vigorous preparations were made throughout the nation.

THE protestant clergy of all denominations exerted their utmost ardour in preaching against the popish religion and the Pretender ; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated and confirmed

in their principles, by several spiritual productions published on the occasion. In a word, the mass of the people seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the Pretender, who nevertheless, had already made surprising progress.

His arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than, Sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that Kingdom, assembled what force he could collect together, and advanced against the rebels. By this time, the young Pretender had possessed himself of Edinburgh, where he caused his father to be proclaimed, and also published a manifesto, in which he was appointed by his father, regent of his dominions.

DURING these transactions General Cope advanced to Edinburgh, to give the enemy battle. But the young Pretender engaged him at Preston-Pans, and gained a complete victory over him. From this victory the Pretender derived manifold and important advantages: his followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated.

BUT

BUT he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused throughout the nation. While the Pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had acquired, Great Britain took every possible measure to check his progress. Immediately after the opening of the British parliament, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands. The trained bands of London were reviewed by his majesty: the county regiments were completed; the volunteers industriously applied themselves to the use and exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The young Pretender having mustered a numerous army, made a sally into England, and invested Carlisle, which in three days surrendered. Here he found a considerable store of arms; and his father was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and himself declared regent, by the magistrates, in their formalities. From thence he marched within one hundred miles of the capital, which was now filled with the utmost terror and consternation.

THIS state of suspense was of short duration. The young Pretender had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom and not a soul appeared in his behalf; he therefore determined to retire to Scotland, and this young adventurer effected a retreat thither, perhaps as surprising as any that ever was performed. But the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which these ferocious troops conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind them no sick, and lost only a few stragglers; they retired with deliberation and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. After this the Pretender routed and defeated general Hawley at Falkirk, the greatest part of whose troops fled in the utmost consternation. General Hawley having boasted, that with two regiments of dragoons he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred

incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; and the Duke of Cumberland was chosen to take the command of the army in Scotland.

THE Duke put himself immediately at the head of the forces, and on the sixteenth of April, in the year 1746, he came up to the rebels on Culloden Moor, and in less than thirty minutes he totally defeated the Pretender's entire army.

A. D. 1746. HOWEVER the glory of the victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge. Not content with the blood which was shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field, after the enemy's defeat and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring; nay some officers acted a sanguinary part in this cruel scene of assassination: it was the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment,

ment, untinged by humanity. Thus, in one short hour all the young adventurer's hopes were extinguished and the rebellion completely crushed..

THE Pretender dismissed his followers and wandered about, a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the isles and mountains, for the space of five months, and underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as probably no other person ever outlived. In the month of May the Duke of Cumberland sent detachments off on all hands to hunt down the fugitives, and desolate the country with fire and sword. They plundered and burned every house, hut and habitation, they met with, without distinction; they carried off all the cattle and provisions. The men were either shot on the mountains like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heath. One whole family was enclosed in a barn and consumed to ashes. So alert were these ministers of vengeance in the execution of their
abominable

abominable office, that in the course of a few days there was neither house, cottage, man nor beast to be seen in the compass of fifty miles ; all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

THE humane reader cannot reflect upon such a scene, without being impressed with the deepest sense of grief and horror ; but what must have been the sensations of the fugitive prince, when he beheld these deplorable monuments of woe, and considered them the melancholy fruits of his ambition ? He was now surrounded by armed troops, who chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore. At times he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in fishing-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides and often in sight of his pursuers. For some days, he assumed woman's attire, and even passed through the midst of his enemies unknown ; but understanding his disguise was discovered, he put on the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and bogs with a matted beard and
squalid

squalid looks, exposed to hunger, thirst and fatigue, and in constant apprehensions of being taken by his enemy. He was obliged to commit his life to the fidelity of more than fifty individuals, and most of these in the lowest walks of life; who knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and that by betraying him, they should enjoy wealth and affluence; but they abhorred the idea of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and supplied his necessities with fidelity and zeal, even at the risk of their own ruin.

IN the course of these peregrinations he was more than once surrounded by his pursuers, in such a manner as appeared to preclude all hope of escape; yet he never abandoned himself to despair, nor was he ever deprived of recollection or presence of mind. He still found some expedient that rescued him from captivity and death; and during the whole course of his woes and distress, he preserved the most astonishing equanimity of mind, and uniformity of temper. At length he was conveyed to France in a privateer of St. Maloes,

St. Maloes, hired by some of his Irish adherents for that purpose. Although it has been the practice of England, to hold out Ireland, as a land of turbulence and commotion; yet, since the revolution, and the succession of the house of Brunswick, the Irish have demeaned themselves in a manner that reflects the greatest credit on themselves and their country, and this at a period when they suffered severely, and had frequent cause of complaint against the sister nation.

THE Irish nation in general were no way implicated in this and the preceding rebellion if we except a few individuals who interested themselves in the fate of this unfortunate adventurer.

THE rebellion being quelled, the British legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. An act of attainder passed against the principal persons who had embarked in this desperate undertaking, and courts were opened in different parts of England for the trial of the prisoners. Upwards
of

of one hundred and fifty were executed as traitors ; and the Earls of Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Derwentwater, and Lovat, were beheaded on Tower Hill.

THE peace of Aix La Chapelle put a period to a war, which in a great measure, nursed this rebellion ; and with the war, terminated the hopes of the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain : for after the conclusion of this treaty, the French King promised that Charles Edward Stuart should quit his dominions. An ordinance of the French court passed to that effect, which the Pretender not complying with, was seized by a guard of French soldiers, by whom he was detained until he obeyed the ordinance ; thus only were peace and tranquility restored to the British dominions, and war ceased all over Europe. The treaty of Aix, however unstable or inglorious it might appear to those few who understood the interests, and felt for the honour of their country, was nevertheless not unwelcome to the nation in general.

THE

THE English ministry will always find it more difficult to satisfy the people at the conclusion of a successful campaign, than at the end of an unfortunate war. The English are impatient of miscarriages and disappointment, and too apt to be intoxicated with victory. At this time they were wearied of the burthens; and sick of the disgraces, to which they had been exposed, during seven tedious campaigns. They had suffered great losses, and their commerce, the chief source of their opulence being interrupted; they were convinced it would be fettered and clogged with additional duties, for the support of a continental war, and that of foreign subsidies; and they drew weak hopes of future success, either from the conduct of their allies, or from the capacity of their commanders. To a people influenced by these considerations, the restoration of a free trade, the respite from that anxiety and apprehension which the prosecution of a war never fails to excite, and the prospect of a speedy deliverance from oppressive impositions, were advantages that sweetened the bitter draught of a dishonourable treaty, and

and induced the nation to acquiesce in the peace, not barely without murmuring, but even with some degree of satisfaction and applause. Some time after, an event happened, which overwhelmed the people with grief and consternation.

A. D. 1750 His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, was seized with a pleuretic disorder; and after a short illness expired, on the twentieth day of March, to the unspeakable affliction of his Royal Consort, and the sincere and unfeigned sorrow of all who wished well to their country. This excellent prince, who now died in the forty-fifth year of his age, was possessed of every amiable quality which could engage the affections of the nation: a tender and obliging husband, a fond parent, a kind master, liberal, generous, candid and humane, a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well disposed to assert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the interests of Great Britain.

THE

THE nation could not but be afflicted at seeing a prince of such expectations ravished from their hopes ; and their grief was the better founded, as the king was already advanced to a mature age, and the heir apparent, George, now Prince of Wales was a minor. His majesty, foreseeing the inconveniencies that might result from a minority, resolved to secure the succession by a parliamentary sanction. A bill accordingly passed, whereby it was enacted, that when the imperial crown should descend to any of the late prince's sons, being under the age of eighteen years, his mother the Princess Dowager of Wales, should be guardian of his person, and regent of the British dominions, until he should arrive at the age of majority, with certain powers and limitations as were thought necessary and expedient.

ONE of the most remarkable acts which passed in this session in the British parliament, was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all the other nations in Europe. Almost every day since the conclusion

sion of the war, exhibited fresh instances of robbery and rapine, the undoubted consequences of the reduction of the army and navy; perjury, fraud and circumvention were universally predominant in Great Britain, and the nation displayed a most astonishing jumble of virtue and vice, honour and infamy, compassion and obduracy, sentiment and brutality.

THE suburbs of the metropolis abounded with a vast number of public houses, which perpetually resounded with the noise of riot and intemperance; they were the receptacles of idleness, fraud and rapine; and the seminaries of drunkenness, debauchery, extravagance, and every species of vice incident to human nature. An act of the legislature for the suppression of these infernal haunts, was not attended with the desired effects. The magistrates were invested with the power of granting or refusing licences, but numbers of them to the reproach of government, were men of profligate lives, needy, ignorant, and rapacious, who often acted from the most infamous, and scandalous principles of selfish avarice.

THE

THE practice of clandestine marriages was now prevalent to the highest degree. The sons and daughters of respectable families, before they had attained the years of discretion, were seduced in their affections, and decoyed into connexions, replete with infamy and ruin ; and these were very much facilitated by the opportunities that occurred, of being instantaneously united by the ceremony of marriage, in the first transport of passion, before the devoted victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject. For this purpose there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and decorum, indeed the very outcasts of society, who plied like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage, without either license or question, in cellars, garrets, and ale houses—to the scandal of religion, and the disgrace of that venerable and respectable function which they profaned by professing. The ease with which this ecclesiastical sanction was obtained, and the vicious disposition of those wretches, open to the practice of fraud and corruption

corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, prostitution, and every curse that could embitter the marriage state. The legislature enacted a law to restrain and prevent these abuses—but it had been found ineffectual, as it may easily be eluded by a pleasant voyage to the continent, or a short journey to North Britain, where the indissoluble knot may be tied without scruple or interruption.

A. D. 1754. IN the beginning of this year violent disputes arose between the government and the commons of Ireland, of the almost forgotten subjects of privilege and prerogative. The commons conceived they had an undoubted right to apply the surplus of the revenue, towards national purposes; without the consent of their sovereign, and accordingly, in the year one thousand, seven hundred and forty nine, prepared a bill with this preamble “Where-
 “ as, on the 25th of March last, a considera-
 “ ble balance remained in the hands of the
 “ vice treasurer, or receivers general of the
 “ Kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, un-
 “ applied,

“ applied; and it will be for your majesty’s
“ service, and for the ease of your faithful
“ subjects in Ireland, that so much thereof
“ as can be conveniently spared, should be
“ paid agreeably to your majesty’s most gra-
“ cious intentions, in discharge of a part of
“ the national debt.”

THIS appropriation gave great offence to the advocates for prerogative in England, who affirmed, the commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take any such affair into consideration, without the previous consent of the crown, expressed in the most explicit terms. It was in consequence of this doctrine, that the Duke of Dorset, then Lord Lieutenant, informed them in the next session of parliament, held in the year 1751, that he was commanded by the King to acquaint them, that his majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his subjects, would graciously consent, and recommended it to them, that such part of the money then remaining in his treasury, as should be thought consistent

with the public service, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt.

A. D. 1754. THIS declaration alarmed the commons, zealous as they were for the preservation of their privileges; and in their addresses which used always to echo back the words of the speech, they made no mention of his majesty's consent; but only acknowledged his gracious attention to their ease and happiness, in recommending to them the application of the surplus. They, accordingly, resolved to apply one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of that surplus, towards a discharge of the national debt; and in the preamble of the bill, framed for this purpose, made no mention of his majesty's consent, though they previously had acknowledged his goodness in recommending this application.

THE English ministry was highly offended at this proposed omission, which they construed into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative; and the bill was sent back with an alteration in the preamble, signifying his majesty's

jeſty's conſent, as well as recommendation. The Irish houſe of commons, being at that time deeply engaged in a minute enquiry into the conduct of a gentleman, a ſervant of the crown, and a member of their own houſe, accuſed of having miſapplied a large ſum of money, with which he had been entrusted for rebuilding and repairing barracks, were now unwilling to embroil themſelves further with government, until this affair ſhould be diſcuſſed: they therefore paſſed the bill with the alteration, and proceeded with their enquiry. The member having been convicted of a miſapplication of the public money, and obliged to make reparation at his own expence; the commons did not neglect to aſſert their rights and privileges when the next opportunity occurred.

THE Duke of Dorſet, when he opened the ſeſſion of this year, repeated the expreſſion of his majeſty's gracious conſent, in mentioning the ſurplus of the public money: They again omitted that word in their addreſs; and reſolved in their bill of application, not only to ſink that odious term, but likewiſe to

abate in their complaisance, by omitting that expression of grateful acknowledgements, which had met with such a cold reception above.

By this time the contest had kindled up two factions and diffused a general spirit of resentment through the whole nation. The committee who prepared the bill, instead of inserting the usual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and sent it over in a very plain dress, altogether destitute of all embroidery. The ministry intent upon vindicating the prerogative filled up the omissions of the committee, and sent it back with this alteration. "And your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify, that you would consent and recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your majesty's treasury as should be necessary, be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by parliament."

THIS then being the crisis which was to determine a constitutional point of so much national moment, namely, whether the people
in

in parliament assembled, have a right to deliberate upon, and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue without the previous consent of the crown, such members as were most zealously attached to the liberties of Ireland, exerted themselves most strenuously in opposing what was a violation of those liberties, and the bill with its alterations was rejected by a majority of five voices. This success was celebrated throughout the nation with the greatest demonstrations of joy, as the triumph of patriotism, over the arts of ministerial corruption; and all the servants of the crown, who had joined the popular side on this occasion, were in a little time dismissed from their employments. But the rejection of the bill was a great disappointment to the public creditors, and the circulation of cash was almost stagnated.

THESE calamities were justly ascribed to arbitrary designs in the government; and the nation began to be inspired with an enthusiastic spirit of independency, which might have produced alarming effects, had not government artfully brought over the demagogues, and thus diverted the stream of popular

lar clamour from government to those very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration. The speaker of the house of commons was promoted to the dignity of an Earl; and some other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments. His majesty's letter arrived for paying off seventy five thousand pounds of the national debt, the circulation was thus animated, and the indignation of the people subsiding, the nation recovered its former tranquillity.

A. D. 1755. DURING this period, the public was overwhelmed with consternation by the tidings of a tremendous earthquake, which on the first of November, shook all Spain and Portugal and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins. The two first shocks of this dreadful visitation continued near a quarter of an hour; the water of the river Tagus rose perpendicularly upwards of twenty feet, and subsided to its natural bed in less than a minute; great numbers of houses, of which this city then contained about thirty six thousand, were thrown down by the repeated concussions of the earth, together with several magnificent

nificent churches, monasteries, and public edifices. But what entirely completed the destruction of this then most opulent capital of the Portuguese dominions, was, a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous, but chiefly occasioned by a set of impious villains, who unawed at the tremendous scene before them, with unparalleled wickedness set fire to the falling edifices in different parts of the city, to encrease the general confusion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already forlorn and desolate fellow citizens. Out of these hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, which Lisbon was then supposed to contain, about ten thousand perished by this calamity; and the survivors deprived of their habitations, and destitute even of the necessaries of life, were obliged to seek for shelter in the open fields.

To the honour of British and Irish humanity, a considerable quantity of provisions, and a large sum of money was sent to the relief of the miserable sufferers who were now in actual want of the necessaries of life.

THE

THE intestine broils of Ireland were this year happily composed, by the prudent management of the Marquis of Hartington then viceroy. His steady and firm conduct, his candour and humanity, together with the excellent laws which he encouraged and were passed for the benefit of the nation, allayed in a great measure the dissensions and ferments which before existed among the Irish, yet this was not altogether effected without a large portion of bribery and corruption.

OF all the transactions during the reign of George II. the execution of Admiral Byng was the most infamous. He was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with disgrace, and exposed his life to all the horrors of an ignominious death. Admiral Byng was put to death to the surprize of all Europe, who, whatever were the nature of his errors and indiscretions, seems to have been rashly condemned and cruelly sacrificed to the basest of purposes.

NOTWITH-

A. D. 1757. NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been said in his favour, notwithstanding the infamous arts practised to keep up the cry against him, notwithstanding his solemn appeal to heaven in his last moments, and even the strongest apparent self conviction of his innocence ; the character of Admiral Byng, in point of personal courage, will still in the minds of many remain problematical ; while others, will remain firm of belief, that if the spirit of a British admiral had been, properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits, and he is often actuated by considerations which he dares not avow.

WHEN an officer thus influenced, has hesitated in the hour of trial, the mind eager for its own justification, collects with surprizing industry every favourable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality. Whatever Admiral Byng's feelings might have been ; as the tribunal before which he was tried, acquitted him expressly of cowardice and disaffection, and strongly recommended

recommended him as an object of mercy ; in such case he was thought a fit subject for the royal clemency, and so impartial history will judge him, after all those dishonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lost in oblivion, or remembered with disdain.

IF we turn our eyes to the Continent of Europe, we will see the commencement of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, goodnatured and averse from all that wore the appearance of business or of war. Satisfied with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition. Of all men living, such a prince had the best reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among his people ; yet was an attempt made on his life, by a man, who though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain without shrinking,

shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render necessary.

THE name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, a citizen of Arras. On the fifth of January, he seized the opportunity of the King's stepping into his coach, and stabbed him with a knife in the side. Happily the wound was not dangerous, as the knife took an oblique direction and missed the vital parts. Damien was instantly seized, and every refinement on cruelty that human invention could suggest, was practised on him, to extort a confession, of the reasons that induced him to make so execrable an attempt on the life of his sovereign; but to no effect, for nothing could overcome his obstinacy.

It is not within our province, and we consider it as a felicity not to relate all the horrid circumstances of this tragical event; suffice it to say, that after enduring and suffering the most exquisite tortures that human nature could invent, or man support—his judges thought proper to terminate his misery.

fery, by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. He was conducted to the common place of execution, stripped naked and fastened to the scaffold. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur; his thighs, legs and arms were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, rosin and sulphur were poured into the wounds; tight bandages were tied around his limbs, to prepare him for dismemberment; young and vigorous horses were afterwards applied to the draught; and the miserable criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extention of his sinews, for the space of one hour, during which time he preserved his senses and constancy. At length the executioner cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs; and thus after several efforts the unfortunate wretch was dismembered, and the different lacerated and scattered fragments of his flesh and limbs, were collected and reduced to ashes: his father, wife, daughter and family banished the kingdom for ever, and the name of Damien obliterated, while the innocent were implicated in the punishment of the guilty. Thus, ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner dishonourable to the reputed clemency

mency of Lewis, and exhibiting an infernal and horrid instance of the acknowledged inhumanity of a polished Nation.

It appeared from undoubted evidence that the attempt on the king's life was the effect of insanity and a disturbed imagination. Several marks of a disordered mind had previously been observed in his conduct, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime, ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature.

FROM such horrid scenes we turn with pleasure to the improvements at this period, produced in different arts and sciences that seemed to promise much public utility. Although no Mécenas appeared among the ministers and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne ; yet the protection, countenance, and gratification secured in other countries by the institutions of academies, and the liberality of princes ; the learned and ingenious in these kingdoms derived from the generosity of a public, endued with taste and sensibility, eager for improvement and proud of patronizing

patronizing extraordinary merit. At this time several persons invented methods of discovering the longitude at sea, that great desideratum in navigation for the completion of which so many nations have offered a public reward, and in the investigation of which so many mathematical heads have been disordered.

SOME of those who now appeared candidates for the prize deserved encouragement for the ingenuity of their several systems; but he who enjoyed the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the public was Mr. Irvine, an Irish gentleman. He contrived a chair so artfully poized that a person sitting in it on board a ship even in a rough sea, could through a telescope, observe the immersion and emergence of jupiter's moons, without being interrupted or incommoded by the agitation of the ship.

THIS gentleman was countenanced by Com-modore Lord Howe, in whose presence the experiment was tried in several ships at sea with such success, that Lord Howe granted him a certificate, signifying his approbation; and in consequence, Mr. Irvine obtained a considerable reward from the board of admiralty

ralty. The Prince of Wales now having completed the twenty first year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who seemed born to fulfil the hopes and complete the happiness of Great Britain. Addresses and congratulations were on this occasion presented from all parts of the kingdom to his majesty, replete with sentiments of loyalty and affection, and no trace of disaffection was at this time perceivable in any part of the empire.

THE usurpations and encroachments of the French on the British territories in America were the cause of a fresh war between Great Britain and France. The British subjects considering the French their inveterate and natural enemies, as well as the incendiaries of all Europe, eagerly approved of the war and cheerfully contributed to a vigorous prosecution of it. The French with a view to embarrass the British ministry and direct their attention from all external expeditions, had projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions ; and they now actually began to make preparations

porations in different parts of their courts for carrying this design into execution.

THE English ministry adopted every precautionary measure, but wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was so stationed and divided as to block up all the harbours in France, in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of any consequence.

THE French prepared a considerable fleet in the harbours of Rochfort and Brest under the command of Mon. De Conflans, and reinforced by a large body of troops under the Duc D'Aiguillon. Flat boats and transports for their intended expedition, were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprizing adventurer called Thurot, who in the course of the preceding year had signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the *Bellisle* which had scoured the north seas, and made many captures. Thurot's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain

tain ; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle, than his dexterity in eluding the British cruifers. It must be likewise owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was greatly distinguished by his generosity and compaffion to thofe who had the misfortune to fall into his hands ; and that his deportment in every refpect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the fervice of his country. The court of Verfailles was not ignorant of his merit. He received a commiffion from the French King, and was entrusted with the command of a fmall armament then fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk.

A. D. 1759. THE British government being apprized of thefe particulars, took fuch meafures to defeat this intended invafion, as muft have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to thofe, who confidered that, exclusive of the force oppofed to his defign, they at the fame time, carried on moft vigorous and important operations of war, in Germany, America, the Eaft and Weft Indies.

THUROT's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron under commodore Boyce, and the whole court of France was so guarded by different squadrons of the British fleet, as to resemble an actual blockade. The French ministry being thus hampered, forbore their attempts upon Britain, and the projected invasion was for some time suspended. But the French army being defeated by the British at Minden, and all their designs having been baffled in Germany, they at length determined to try their fortune in a descent, and they now proposed to land a body of troops in Ireland.

THUROT received orders to sail from Dunkirk with the first opportunity, and steer his course around the north of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where the French Admiral Conflans designed to send his forces.

THE transports and ships of war, were assembled at Brest, and Rochfort; having on board, a train of artillery, with saddles and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French
troops

troops, including part of the Irish brigade was kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme, was however prevented; by the vigilance and valour of the British admiral Sir Edward Hawke, who routed and defeated the French fleet under Admiral Conflans; in a memorable engagement, which may be considered as one of the most perilous and important, that ever happened in any war between the two nations, for it not only frustrated the projected invasion, but gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of moment in the sequel. [The alarm of the French invasion thus happily frustrated, not only disturbed the quiet of Britain, but infused terror into Ireland.] In the latter end of October, the Irish parliament assembled, and received a formal message from the Duke of Bedford, who was then lord lieutenant, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the secretary of state, written by his majesty's express commands, it appeared that France far from abandoning the design of invasion on account of the late disaster, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and that in all probability

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bility, Ireland would be one of their chief objects ; his grace thought it therefore incumbent on him, in a matter of such importance to the welfare of Ireland, to communicate this intelligence to the Irish parliament. He told them his majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful protestant subjects, had been already sufficiently quickened, by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous designs and actual preparations.

He gave them to understand he had received his majesty's commands, to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland, to exert their well known zeal and spirit in support of his government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by a timely preparation to oppose and frustrate any hostile attempt to disturb the peace and unhinge the security of the nation. He therefore in the strongest terms, recommended to them to evince on this occasion, that zeal for the present happy constitution, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which the Irish parliament had been so often distinguished on several trying emergencies.

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As soon as this message was communicated, the house of commons unanimously resolved, to present an address to the lord lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had manifested for the safety of Ireland, in communicating intelligence of so great moment ; desiring him in the mean while to adopt such measures as should appear to him the most effectual, for the security and defence of the nation ; and assuring him, that the house would make good whatever expence should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. This intimation and the measures that were taken in pursuance of it for the defence of the kingdom, produced such alarms and distractions, throughout the nation as well nigh annihilated the public credit.

In the first transports of fear and apprehension, there was so great a run on the Dublin banks, that several eminent bankers were obliged to stop payment ; and the circulation was in danger of being destroyed ; when the lord lieutenant, the members of both houses of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants and principal traders of Dublin, entered into an association in support of public credit, by

taking the notes of bankers in payment ; a resolution that fully answered the purpose intended.

HOWEVER the French might have flattered themselves, that their invading army would be joined in Ireland by a number of the natives, in this hope, they would unquestionably have been disappointed, for at this juncture, no signs of disaffection appeared in any quarter of the kingdom. On the contrary, the opulent individuals of the catholic persuasion, offered to furnish government with considerable sums of money, in case of necessity, to maintain the present establishment against all its enemies ; and the catholics of the city of Cork, and most of that persuasion in the kingdom, presented addresses to the lord lieutenant, expressing their loyalty and attachment to his majesty's person, and government. They congratulated his grace on the unparalleled success of his majesty's arms, and expressed their warm sense of the king's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, while they acknowledged with gratitude, the protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majesty's auspicious reign.

THEY

THEY expressed the warmest indignation, at the projected invasion of the kingdom, by an enemy grown desperate by defeats, who might possibly make that attempt as a last effort; buoyed up perhaps with the imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland, from the former attachment of their deluded predecessors.

A. D. 1759. THEY assured his grace, in the most solemn manner, that such designs were altogether incompatible with their principles and intentions; that they would to the utmost exertion of their abilities, and with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever; that they should be always ready to concur in such measures, and to act such parts in defence of the Kingdom, in conjunction with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, as his Grace in his wisdom should be pleased to appoint; and thought themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so well known an assertor of liberty, or so important and distinguished a governor.

FINALLY,

FINALLY, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his Majesty's arms might be crowned with such a continuance of success, as might enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace. Many of these cordial addresses, that from Cork in particular, were transmitted to the Earl of Shannon, and presented by his Lordship to the Duke of Bedford. At so critical a juncture; these sentiments were as pleasing to the government as they were honourable to the catholics.

No traces of disaffection to his majesty's person, appeared at this period in Ireland; yet a violent commotion of the populace broke out in the City of Dublin. The Duke was by no means popular in his administration. He had bestowed a place of considerable importance on a man, who was extremely obnoxious to many persons in the Kingdom, and his grace was deficient in that affability and complacency which a free and hospitable nation expects to find in the characters of their chief governors. The Irish in general, were highly offended at his
deportment,

deportment, and with justice began to entertain doubts and jealousies of certain machinations in the government ; while apprehensions were conceived ; that his excellency wished to effect an union between Great Britain and Ireland. This opinion was propagated among the populace with much industry. They were informed, that a plan, was determined on by government, to deprive Ireland of her parliament and independence, and to subject her to the same taxes which were levied on the people of Great Britain.

THIS report inflamed the populace to such a degree, that they assembled in immense crowds around the parliament house, broke into the house of lords, insulted the peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, which they would have committed to the flames, had they been found. They then obliged such members of both houses as they met in the streets, to take an oath that they would never consent to an union, or give any vote contrary to the real interest of Ireland. A body of horse and infantry, were drawn
out

out on this occasion to intimidate the mob, which in the evening dispersed of itself. Addresses were next day agreed to, by both houses of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the commotion might be discovered, and brought to condign punishment.

WHEN the British court heard that Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk, with a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body of land troops, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately dispatched to the commanding officers, in Scotland, to put the forts along that coast in the best state of defence, and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy, in case they should attempt a descent. The greatest encomium that can be paid the character of Thurot, is an account of the alarm which his puny army in a moment spread through the whole extent of the British dominions, whose fleets at that time covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been sooner stopped, had Commodore Boyce been victualled

actualled for a longer cruise ; but he was obliged to put into Leith, for a supply of provisions ; at the very time when Thurot was seen hovering on the coasts of Scotland : and before the English Squadron was provided for a prosecution of the cruise, Thurot had taken shelter at Gottenburgh, in Sweden.

C H A P. VIII.

Reduction of Canada by General Wolfe.—Thurot lands at Carrickfergus in Ireland—Defeated by Captain Elliot, and killed—The Bravery of five Irishmen and a boy, belonging to the Crew of a Waterford Ship—The Trial of Lord George Sackville—The Execution of Earl Ferrers for Murder—Death of George II.—His Character—State of Commerce—State of Religion and Philosophy—Genius not encouraged nor patronized by the Crown—The erection of numerous charitable Institutions in Dublin—The Magdalen Asylum—View of the Finances, and also of the Laws, since the Revolution—Reduction of the Interest of Money from 10 to 8 per Cent, from 8 to 7, and from 7 to 6, being the present Rate—Considerations arising from comparing our present Constitution with its ancient Model.

A. D. 1759. **I**F we extend our views across the Atlantic, into America, we find this year particularly distinguished by the taking of Quebec, and the reduction of
Canada

Canada. At the capture of Quebec, we must lament the fate of the gallant Wolfe, who expired in the arms of victory. General Wolfe was a national loss, and as such universally regretted. He inherited from nature an animating fervour of sentiment, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every kind of military knowledge, that study or actual service could procure. He was brave above all sense of danger; he was also generous, gentle and humane; a pattern to the officer, and the darling of the soldiers. Had his genius been exercised to its full extent by opportunity and action; and his judgment matured by age and experience, he would undoubtedly have rivalled in reputation, the most celebrated heroes of antiquity. As soon as the account of the victory, and surrender of Quebec, had reached England; all was rapture, all was triumph and exultation, blended with the praise of the gallant Wolfe.

THE British parliament presented an address to his majesty, requesting he would order a monument to be erected to the memory of Major
general

general Wolfe ; at the same time they resolved, that the thanks of the house should be given to the surviving generals and admirals, employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebec. Testimonies of this kind, while they reflect honour on the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a spirited exertion of their talents in the service of their country.

A. D. 1760. IN recounting the transactions of the preceding year, we mentioned a small armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of M. de Thurot, who notwithstanding all the vigilance of Commodore Boyce, stationed in the Downs, to watch him, found means to escape from Dunkirk in the month of October, and arrived at Gottenburgh, in Sweden ; from whence he proceeded to Bergen, in Norway.

His instructions were to make occasional descents upon the coast of Ireland, and by dividing the troops and distracting the attention of the government, of the kingdom ; to facilitate the enterprize of M. De Conflans,
the

the fate of which has already been mentioned. Thurot's original armament consisted of five ships, one of which, called the *Mareschal de Belleisle*, was mounted with forty four guns; the *Begon*, the *Blond*, the *Terpsichore*, had thirty guns each, and the *Marante* carried twenty four. The number of troops put on board this little fleet, did not exceed one thousand, two hundred and seventy, exclusive of mariners, to the number of seven hundred; but two hundred of these forces were sent sick on shore, before the armament sailed from Dunkirk; and in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen, they lost company of the *Begon*, during a violent storm. The severity of the weather detained them nineteen days at Bergen, at the expiration of which, they set sail for the western islands of Scotland, and discovered the northern parts of Ireland, in the latter end of January.

THUROT's intention was to make a descent upon Derry; but before this design was executed, the weather growing tempestuous, and the wind blowing off shore, Thurot

Thurot was driven out to sea, and in the night he lost sight of the *Marante*, which never joined him after. After being tempest-tost for some time, and exposed to a very scanty allowance of provisions, Thurot's officers requested him to return to France, lest they should all perish by famine; but he did not listen to such a proposal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having made some effort for the service of his country; nevertheless in hopes of procuring some refreshment he steered to the island of *Isla*, belonging to Scotland, where the troops were landed, and here they found black cattle, and a small supply of oatmeal for which they paid a reasonable price; and it must be acknowledged Thurot himself behaved with great moderation and generosity.

WHILE this spirited adventurer laboured under these wants and difficulties, his arrival in those seas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were stationed along the coasts of Scotland and Ireland; and besides commodore

dore Boys's Squadron, who sailed to the northward, on purpose to pursue the enemy, other ships of war, were ordered to scour the Bristol channel, and cruise between Scotland and Ireland. As soon as the weather permitted, Thurot, to pursue his destination, sailed from Isla to the Bay of Carrickfergus, and made all the necessary preparations for a descent; which was accordingly effected with six hundred men, on the twenty-first of February. Lieutenant Colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undisciplined men, at Carrickfergus, having been informed that three ships had anchored about two miles and a half from the castle, which was ruinous and defenceless, immediately detached a party to make observations, and ordered the French prisoners there confined, to be removed to Belfast. In the mean time, the enemy landed without opposition, and advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, and the situation of the commander would allow.

A regular attack was carried on, and a spirited defence made; but at length Colonel

Jennings was obliged to retire to the castle, which, however, was in all respects untenable; for besides a breach in the wall, near fifty feet wide, he found himself destitute of provisions and ammunition. Nevertheless, he repulsed the assailants in their first attack, even after the gate was burst open, and supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. But after a vain effort, the colonel and his troops, were constrained to surrender, on condition that they should not be sent prisoners to France, but be ransomed by sending thither an equal number of French prisoners from Great Britain or Ireland: that the castle should not be demolished, nor the town of Carickfergus plundered nor burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation should furnish the French troops with necessary provisions. One circumstance that attended this engagement deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as an instance of that courage, united with humanity, which constitutes true heroism.

WHILE the French and English were hotly engaged in one of the streets, a little child

child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was exposed; a common soldier belonging to the French, seeing the life of this poor innocent at stake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, conveyed it to a place of safety; then returning to his place, resumed his musket, and renewed his hostility. Such instances of humanity do honour to man, and ought to be recorded.

THUROR after this exploit, did not advance farther into the country; a measure which indeed he could not have undertaken with any safety; for by this time a considerable body of regular forces was assembled; and the people of Ulster manifested a spirit of loyalty and fortitude on the occasion. They flocked in numbers to Belfast, to offer their services to repel the invaders. These circumstances being known to Thuror, as well as the defeat of Conflans, which he had also learned, obliged him to embark with some precipitation; after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

bution. But the fate he escaped on land he soon met with at sea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, and had already distinguished himself in the course of the war, by many acts of valour, was informed by a dispatch from the Duke of Bedford, that three of the enemy's ships lay at anchor, in the bay of Carrickfergus; thither Elliot instantly steered his course in the ship *Æolus*, accompanied by the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, under the command of Captains, Clements and Logie. On the twenty eight of February, they descried the enemy in sight of the Isle-of-Man, and gave them chase. About nine in the morning, Elliot in his own ship engaged the *Bellisle*, commanded by Thurot; although much his superior in strength of men, number of guns and weight of metal. In a short time his companions were also engaged with Thurot's two other ships.

AFTER a very hot action, maintained with great spirit, on all sides for an hour and an half, Elliot's Lieutenant boarded the *Bellisle*, and striking her colours with his own hand, she

she submitted; the other ships were also soon taken, and Elliot conveyed his prizes into Ramsay Bay, in the Isle-of-Man, in order that they might be repaired. Although the *Bellisle* was very leaky, and had lost her boltsprit, misen-mast, and main-yard, yet the victory would not have been so easily obtained, had not the brave *Thurot* fallen, during the action. The victor had not even the consolation to perform the last offices to his valiant enemy; for his body was thrown into the sea, by his own men, in the hurry of the engagement. The loss of the British did not exceed forty men, killed and wounded—whereas, above three hundred of the French were killed or disabled.

THE service performed by Elliot on this occasion, was considered so essential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the Irish house of commons were unanimously voted to the victors of *Thurot*, as well as to Colonel Jennings, for his spirited conduct at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork, was presented in silver boxes, to Captains Elliot, Clements and Logie. The

name of Thurot was become terrible to all the mercantile seaports of Great Britain and Ireland; wherefore, the defeat and capture of his armament were celebrated with as great and hearty rejoicings, as the most important victory could have produced.

It being our wish to omit no opportunity of doing justice to the valour of Irishmen, we presume that the bravery of five Hibernians, and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, merits recording. The ship, on her return from Bilboa, laden with brandy and iron, having being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, about the middle of April, in this year, the captors removed the master and all the hands, except these five men and the boy, who were left to assist nine French men in navigating the vessel to France.

THESE brave Irishmen concerted a plan for their deliverance, and executed it with success. Four of the French mariners being below decks, three aloft, among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck,
Brien

Brien who conducted the enterprize, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at the other mariner who walked the deck, but having missed his aim, he knocked him down with the butt-end of the pistol. At the same time he hollowed to his companions below, who attacked the enemy with their broad swords, and soon compelled them to submit: they then came on deck, and closed the hatches. Brien and his associates being now in possession of the quarter deck, those that were aloft called for quarters, and surrendered without opposition. The Irish men having obtained a complete victory, almost without bloodshed, and having secured the prisoners, a new difficulty occurred. Neither Brien nor his friend could read or write, nor knew any thing of navigation; but supposing his course to be North, he steered at venture, and the first land he made was contiguous to Youghal, where he happily arrived with his prisoners.

As no subject engrossed so much the conversation and passions of the public, at this time, as the case of Lord George Sackville, we shall beg leave to convey the reader to
Great

Great Britain, for the purpose of giving him a sketch of his lordship's case. Lord George Sackville, had by this time resigned his command in Germany, and returned to England, the country of all others, it would be his interest to shun, if he were really guilty of the imputation now alledged against his character. With the news of the battle of Minden, the defamation of this officer arrived. He was accused of having disobeyed Prince Ferdinand's orders, relative to the battle of Minden, and his conduct was stigmatized in many particulars.

THIS vague charge, kindled up a blaze of indignation against Lord George Sackville, amongst the people of England. Lord George, impatient of the imputation attached to his character, solicited to be tried by a court-marshal, which was granted. On the trial it appeared, that so many contradictory orders had been issued by Prince Ferdinand, that Lord George could not with any certainty execute any of them, until he resorted in person to the prince, to receive commands from his own lips—These orders he immediately executed with as much exertion

exertion as was possible on such an occasion. The court-martial after hearing of evidence, gave judgment in these words. "The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that Lord George Sackville is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey as commander in chief, according to the rules of war, and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the said Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatsoever."

THIS sentence was confirmed by the king, who to complete the disgrace of this unfortunate general, in council, called for the council book and struck the name of Lord George Sackville out of the list of privy counsellors.

THE people of Great Britain, naturally impatient and clamorous have been too much indulged with court martials and dismissal, which tend only to render their military commanders

commanders rash and precipitate ; the populace more licentious and intractable, and to disgrace the national character. The imputations levelled at Lord George Sackville by the multitude, and circulated with so much industry and clamour, ought to be considered as a mob accusation which the bravest men, even the great Duke of Marlborough, could not escape ; it ought to be received as a dangerous suspicion, which strikes at the root of character, and may blast that honour in a moment, which the soldier had acquired in a long course of painful service, at the continual hazard of his life. We ought to distrust it as a malignant charge altogether inconsistent with the former conduct of the person accused, as well as with his subsequent impatience and perseverance in demanding a trial to which he never would have been otherwise called ; a trial although his life was at stake, and his cause cried down, he sustained with such courage, fortitude and presence of mind, as even his enemies themselves could not help admiring.

THIS

THIS summer was distinguished by another trial still more remarkable. Laurence, Earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a violent spirit, who had committed many outrages, and in the opinion of all who knew him, had given manifold proofs of insanity, at length perpetrated the murder of his own agent a Mr. Johnson, for which he was tried, condemned and executed at Tyburn as a common malefactor. Homicide is the reproach of Great Britain; it is probable there is something in the climate that disposes the natives to this inhuman crimes. Certain it is, high passions will break out into the most enormous violences in that country where they are least controlled by the restraint of regulation and order; and it is equally certain that in no civilized country under heaven is there such a relaxation of discipline, either religious or civil as in England.

WHILE the British arms triumphed in every effort tending to the interest and prosperity of the nation, an event occurred, which for a moment obscured the splendor of Great Britain's glory and triumphs; and could not but be very alarming to those German allies, whom

whom her liberality had enabled to support an expensive and bloody war, of caprice and ambition. On the twenty fifth day of October, George II. without any previous disorder, was in the morning suddenly seized with the agony of death, at the palace of Kensington.

He had risen at the usual hour, drank his Chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as he was anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; he then opened the window of his apartment and finding the weather was serene, and calm, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor; the noise of the fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he desired in a faint voice, that the Princess Amelia might be called; but before she had reached the apartment, he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; for his malady was beyond the power of art. When the surgeons opened the cavity of the chest, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood

blood discharged through the aperture, into the surrounding pericordium, so that he must have died instantaneously, in consequence of the effusion of blood. A rupture of this nature appears the more remarkable, as it happened to a prince of a sound constitution, unaccustomed to excess, and far advanced beyond that period of life, when the blood might be supposed to flow with a dangerous impetuosity.

THUS died George II. at the age of seventy-seven, after a reign of thirty-four years, remarkable by a variety of important events, and diversified with a vicissitude of character. He is said to have been extremely addicted to passion, yet soon appeased ; in domestic economy he was frugal, temperate, regular, and so methodical in every department of it, that he attended to objects which perhaps a great and magnanimous prince had better overlook. He was fond of military parade ; and personally brave. He loved war as a soldier, and studied it as a science.

WE shall not attempt to display the extent of his abilities, nor the splendor of his virtues ;

would we had grounds to enlarge on his munificence and liberality, his generous regard to genius and learning ! His government seldom deviated from the institutions of law ; or interfered with the ordinary administration of justice. His public character was chiefly distinguished by a predilection for his native country, and a steady attention to the political interests of the Germanic body. To these principles he most rigidly adhered, during the whole course of his life ; and when the blood and treasure of the British Empire were sacrificed to these considerations, perhaps we ought not to censure the prince so much, who no doubt, was actuated by the impulse of natural affection, as we should detest a succession of venal ministers ; all of whom in their turn devoted themselves totally to the gratification of this passion of partiality, which proved, prejudicial in the extreme to the real interest of this nation, as well as to that of the British dominions. During this reign, a standing army was, by force of ministerial influence, engrafted on the constitution.

VENALITY

VENALITY and corruption, made professed patriots resign the principles they had long endeavoured to establish. The management of the nation was consigned to ministers in general, as deficient in knowledge as they were in integrity, and who by their ignorance and presumption, reduced the country to the verge of ruin. However, we may venture to assert that George II. was as popular as any other prince at the time of his decease. The English, as well as Irish are naturally warm and impetuous, and in generous natures, affection is as apt as any other passions to run riot.

THE sudden death of the king was deplored by many, as a national misfortune; for no other cause probably, but that the kingdom was deprived of him at a critical juncture, while implicated in an expensive and dangerous war, of which he had been personally the chief mover and support. They knew the burthen of royalty devolved on a young prince, who, although, he had attained the age of maturity, had never been admitted to any share of the administration, nor made acquainted with any of the views or schemes of the cabinet. Thus the real character

of the young king was very little known to the generality of the people. Wherefore great doubts and apprehensions were entertained by the nation, on this account ; but all these gloomy fears were shortly dispelled, and vanished like mists before the morning sun ; while the people enjoyed the heartfelt pleasure of seeing their loss repaired in such a manner as fully satisfied the most sanguine wish of every friend of his country.

THE commerce of this kingdom encreased little during this reign, the necessities of government, the monopolizing spirit of Great Britain, together with the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legislature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impositions.

THE powers of the human mind were fully and freely exercised during this reign. Considerable progress was made in mathematics and astronomy, Natural philosophy became a general study, and the new doctrine of electricity grew into fashion, The clergy were in general learned, pious and exemplary,

plary, ecclesiastical merit was not altogether confined to the established clergy, many instances of extraordinary genius, and unaffected piety and moderation having appeared among the dissenting and catholic clergy of Ireland.

IN this reign, literary genius arose almost spontaneously, for though neglected by the great, it flourished under the protection of a public, who had pretensions to taste, and piqued themselves on encouraging merit. Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher sphere of life, embellished by the nervous stile, superior sense and extensive erudition of a Corke, by the delicate taste, the polished muse, and tender feelings of a Lyttleton,

THE genius of Cervantes was transfused into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters and ridiculed the follies of life, with equal strength, humour and propriety. History and geography were cultivated by many writers of profound abilities; among these we distinguish the learned and elegant Robertson, and above all, the penetrating,

trating, ingenious, and comprehensive Hume, a first rate writer, whether we consider him as an historian or a philosopher, nor let us forget the merit so conspicuous in the works of Campbell, distinguished for candour, intelligence, and precision, and Johnson, who was inferior to none, in philosophy and classical learning.

NEVER was the thirst after knowledge so great, or literary merit more esteemed than at this period, by the bulk of the people; but it was neither countenanced nor attended to by the throne, nor indulged by the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of Queen Anne, was propitious to the fortunes of men of genius, who lived in all the happy pride of independence, while in the succeeding reigns; many whose merit was universally acknowledged, remained during their lives, exposed to all the storms of indigence, and all the stings of mortification.

QUEEN ANNE, countenanced learning. She conversed with Newton, and corresponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity, and the court was animated with
a freedom

a freedom of spirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death, that spirit languished, and an entire cessation of gaiety and good humour ensued. It was succeeded by a sullen calm, an ungracious and insipid reserve.

To the honour of Ireland, the virtues of benevolence and charity, are as conspicuous as in any part of the globe ; witness, the numerous hospitals and infirmaries throughout the kingdom in general, but in Dublin in particular ; often established by the humanity of individuals, and supported by voluntary contributions and parliamentary grants. Of equal, and perhaps superior merit, is another charitable institution, which recently took effect in the metropolis—We allude to the Magdalen Asylum. We scarce know whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution. A small number of humane individuals, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous and humane resolution in their favour. They justly considered that many of those

unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society; had been seduced to vice in their tender years, by the perfidious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other. That the jewel, reputation, being thus lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard and assistance; that, stung by self conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the opportunity of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence and maddened with despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to the dreadful vicissitudes of misery and the most torturing pangs of reflection; that whatever remorse they might feel, or however they might abominate their own vice, or wish for an opportunity of amendment, they were altogether destitute of the means of reformation, they were not only deprived of all possibility of benefiting by those precious moments

of repentance, and becoming once more useful members of society, but obliged, in order to procure a wretched subsistence, to persevere in the habits of prostitution, and act as the instruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating disease and profligacy, in destroying the bodies, corrupting the minds, and poisoning the morals of their fellow creatures.

MOVED by sympathy and commiseration this truly virtuous and humane band of individuals, provided a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the haunts of vice, the miseries of life, and the contempt of mankind; where they might enjoy the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with heaven, habituate themselves to industry and temperance, and be profitably re-united to society, from which they had been so unhappily severed.

At this period the state of our finances was rather prosperous. The entire charge and debt of Ireland amounted to 1,318,263*l*. The total credit of the nation,

nation, was then 1,567,686l. consequently the nation was then in credit 249,423l.

FROM the Revolution to the present period, many laws have passed, as the bill of rights, the toleration act, the act of settlement with its conditions, which asserted our liberties in more clear and emphatical terms; and regulated the succession of the crown by parliament, as the exigences of religious, and civil freedom required, and also confirmed and exemplified the doctrine of resistance, when the executive power attempts to subvert the constitution; and likewise maintained the superiority of the laws above the king, by pronouncing this dispensing power to be illegal and unconstitutional; with many other useful and necessary laws and regulations. Yet, though these provisions have, in appearance, nominally reduced the strength of the executive magistrate to a much lower ebb than in the preceding period; if on the other hand, we throw into the opposite scale, the vast acquisition of force arising from the riot act, the annual expedience of a standing army, and the great encrease of personal attachment

tachment arising from the magnitude of the national debt and of patronage ; we shall find, that the crown has gradually and imperceptibly, acquired perhaps more in influence, than it has apparently lost in prerogative.

DURING this period many efforts were made to unite Ireland with Great Britain, as England and Scotland are united, but such schemes proved abortive as it is to be hoped they ever will, if ever they should be attempted. In many instances the crown wished to be totally independent of the parliament and to render the meeting of it less frequent. When the Duke of Devonshire was lord lieutenant in 1729, an attempt was made to procure the supplies for twenty one years, and, strange to mention, this infamous attempt, was defeated only by a majority of one voice. Such measures were calculated to supercede the necessity of convoking parliaments. But at this time parliaments were continued from the commencement of each reign to the demise of the king, wherefore Ireland might justly be said to have legislators, but not representatives ; and the effects of bribery and corruption were visible and notorious. The
system

system of bribing the legislature was introduced by Sir Robert Walpole, in Great Britain, and its baneful consequences to the real interest of England and Ireland, are not completely eradicated at this day.

THE factions of Whig and Tory, were the cause of much ferment and uneasiness in the state, and religion was often made the pretext for cruelty, oppression, and intolerance; yet, notwithstanding all these considerations, the Irish were peaceable, loyal, and strictly amenable, to the laws. During all the Pretender's attempts upon Great Britain, no disturbance, took place in Ireland; on the contrary, the Irish manifested a spirit of loyalty and attachment to their sovereign scarcely to be paralleled under similar circumstances; at a time when their affections were only weaned from the cause of James, and when they laboured under restrictions and penalties distressing to humanity, and disgraceful to the legislators. Those acts of severity were however in some measure justified, by the policy of the times, and the nature of the government, but their total abolition is a consummation devoutly to be wished for, by every

every liberal mind, and real well-wisher to the happiness and prosperity of Ireland.

IN the second year of Queen Anne's reign, the interest of money was reduced from 10, to 8 per cent. and in the eighth year of George I. it was lowered from eight, to seven per cent. and in the fifth year of the reign of George II. it was still farther reduced, to six per cent. per annum.

THE convocation in their proceedings became so troublesome to government, that king George I. thought proper to put a stop to their sitting, by a prorogation; and since that period, the convocation, were not permitted either to sit or to transact business. But by way of compensation, the clergy were allowed to vote on general elections, a right which they did not before enjoy. For the sake of many of our readers, we beg leave to inform them, that the convocation we are speaking of, differed considerably from the ecclesiastical synods of other christian kingdoms; those consisting entirely of bishops, whereas with us the convocation was the miniature of a parliament, wherein the arch-bishop presided

presided with regal state ; the upper house of convocation represented the house of lords as composed of bishops ; and the lower house composed of representatives of the several dioceses at large, and of each particular chapter therein, resembled the house of commons, with its knights of the shire and burgessees.

THIS constitution is ascribed to the policy of Edward the I. of England, who thereby at one and the same time, let in the inferior clergy, to the privilege of framing ecclesiastical canons, (which before they had not) and also, introduced a method of taxing ecclesiastical benefices, by consent of convocation. It would be a task worthy of a man of abilities, to trace the successive alterations that took place in our system of government, and also to point out the established practice of the age, and the maxims of administration, which at each particular period were prevalent and universally assented to, as being the only rule of government, which is intelligible, or carries any degree of authority with it.